

THE
TRAVELS
AND
ADVENTURES
OF
EDWARD BROWN, *Esq;*

Formerly a MERCHANT in *London*.

CONTAINING

HIS OBSERVATIONS on *France* and *Italy*; his
Voyage to the *Levant*; his Account of the *Isle*
of *Malta*; his REMARKS in his Journies thro'
the lower and upper *Egypt*; together with a
brief DESCRIPTION of the *Abyssinian* Empire.

Interspersed throughout

With several curious Historical PASSAGES re-
lating to our own as well as Foreign Nations;
as also with Critical Disquisitions as to the pre-
sent State of the Sciences in *Egypt*, particularly
Physic and Chemistry.

L O N D O N: Printed by J. APPLEBEE,

For A. BETTESWORTH, and C. HITCH, at the *Red-Lyon* in
Pater-noster-Row; WILLIAM HINCHLIFFE, at *Dryden's-*
Head, under the *Piazza* of the *Royal-Exchange*; and
STEPHEN AUSTEN, at the *Angel* and *Bible* in *St. Paul's-*
Church-Yard. M DCC XXXIX.

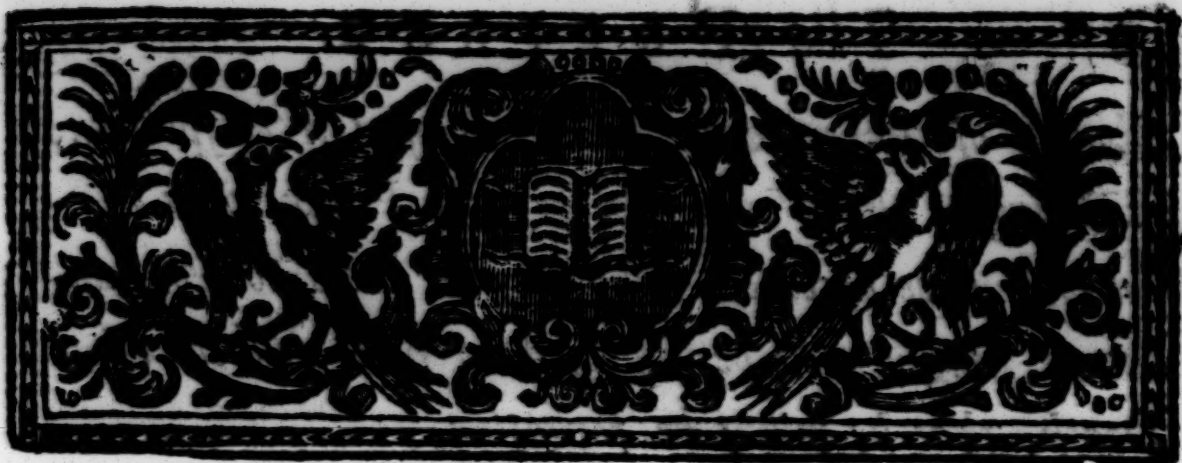
TRAVELS

AND

ADVENTURES

OF

JOSEPH BANKS



THE
PREFACE.



I is neither out of a Desire to prepos-
sess the Reader in Favour of the fol-
lowing Sheets, nor yet meerly to com-
ply with a Ceremony which Custom
bath long confirm'd, a Point of good
Breeding between an Author and his Readers, that
I prefix a Preface to these Travels. Two Rea-
sons determined me thereto, First, that the can-
did Peruser might receive all the Satisfaction in
my Power, as to the Gentleman who wrote this Book;
and Secondly, that I might clear myself from any
A 2 Charge

Charge of Impertinence or want of Circumspection, in giving to the World the private Papers of a Person long since deceased, who as he chose to live unknown, might well be supposed to have wished after Death, that he might be forgotten.

THE first Scenes of this Gentleman's Life are so accurately described by his own Pen, that it would be not only needless, but impertinent in me to say any Thing of them here. After his Return to England he settled as a Merchant, not so much with a View to Profit, as to keep his Thoughts employ'd, being equally an Enemy to, and incapable of bearing Idleness. His great Abilities and his Experience, drawn both from Reading and Travel, gained him not only the Acquaintance, but an Intimacy with several Persons of Distinction, which he the more easily maintained, because his own Circumstances were easy, and so he had no Occasion, as in himself he had no Will to trouble them for Favours. Besides these Friends at Home, our Author kept up a constant and general Correspondence with Persons of Learning, as well as Business abroad, of which he preserved an exact Journal, and caused all their Letters to be fair copied. This Manner of employing his Time the Reader will perceive he took up early, and he continued it (as I believe most Men do whatever
pleases

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pleases them in their Youth) the best Part of his Life. His Writings were therefore always held valuable by his Relations, to whom I am indebted for the Access I have had to them, and would willingly make them more ample Acknowledgments, if I were not restrained by their express Commands. The Leave they have given me to transcribe his Memoirs, being founded only in a generous Desire of rendering Service to the Publick, and not out of any Vanity whatsoever.

*W H E N Mr. Brown grew pretty far in Years, he retired into the Country for his Health, and lived some where in the Vicinity of Buxton-Wells, whence many of his last Letters are dated, and where it appears that he reviewed all his Papers. He came afterwards up to London on some particular Business, and being surprized by a Pleuretick Fever, died in the Winter of 1704. He left a considerable Sum of Money behind him to some distant Relations of his own, and his Wife's, having had no Children. He was always esteemed a Man of great Modesty in his Disposition, extremely moderate in his Sentiments, a Friend to Learning, without affecting to be learned, sincerely pious, without any Tincture of Bigotry, and so little inclined to Party, that I am not able to learn to which Side he leaned ; even in those Times
when*

when almost every Man ranged himself with the Whigs, or with the Tories.

AS to the Publication of these Travels, it will appear from the first Pages of them, that the Author had it not absolutely in View to hinder their seeing the Light. On the contrary, he either had some Thoughts of publishing them himself, tho' perhaps in another Dress, or he had Foresight enough to apprehend that they would one Day find a Reader, who would think it unjust to delight himself with the perusal of them, without desiring to communicate that Delight to his Countrymen. It is plain therefore, that in committing this Volume to the Press, I have not violated the Will of the Dead. As to the Merit of the Work itself, I apprehend it will speak for itself. It is full of very entertaining Relations, curious Researches into History, as well private as publick, and abounds with Discoveries in those Places where they are least expected. As to the Language it is very natural and intelligible, tho' altogether artless and unaffected. Mr. Brown meant to draw the Pictures of himself and of other Men, as like as he could, and not with those fine Strokes and agreeable Touches which delight us so much in French Memoirs, and in Courtly Panegyrics.

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THE several Passages in this Book relating to English Affairs, may not only be depended on as Facts, but with respect to their Circumstances also, may be safely regarded as impartial Narrations, falling from the Pen of a Man altogether void of Party. The Author as he left his Country young, and without having addicted himself to any Faction, so from those with whom he conversed abroad, it is very evident he acquired full Satisfaction, that the Bigots of all Parties were either Slaves to their Passions or their Interests; and therefore as Men visibly misled, were least of all fit to lead others. Hence without Doubt it came to pass, that he contracted that coolness and moderation which distinguishes all his Accounts of Things, from those we have already had, and sets them in such a Light, as leaves the Reader no just Ground to doubt, that it is the true one.

ALL the concise Memoirs of Persons of Distinction which are inserted in his Work, are penn'd with much Impartiality, and exhibit nothing to the Reader's View, but what tends to his Information and Instruction. They are not indeed very regular or conformable to those Rules which of late Years have been established in Biography, but they are pleasant and natural; they come in pertinently, are
told

told with Spirit, and are generally concluded with useful Reflections. This was a fashionable Method of Writing in the last Age, and a Method which needs no Excuse to be made for it in this, wherein, if we have learned to compose with greater Accuracy and neatness, we have perhaps lost something of that masculine Vigour which is discernable in the Characters drawn by former Writers. While I am on this Subject, I cannot forbear observing, that the Account he has given us of the Italian Duke of Northumberland, is alone sufficient to make the Book valuable. I remember that in the Year 1718, when it was said that an unfortunate Italian Marquis was lineally descended from that famous Duke who made such a Figure in the Courts of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. and from the no less famous Earl of Leicester, the first of Queen Elizabeth's Favourites; I say, I remember when this was talked of, it was looked on as a Fable, and many believ'd it a Story invented to do Honour to a certain Family. From this Author it appears not only that the Fact was true, but there are also a multitude of other Facts assembled, relating to the same Family, which I believe are not to be met with any where else. The collecting all these scatter'd Memoirs, was certainly an Act of virtuous Compassion, since the House of Dudley was
then

then in no Condition to repay him, or any other Man for Civilities of this sort; neither does it appear, that he compiled this Account with any other View than to satisfy his intimate Friends as to the State of this once illustrious Family, and to wipe away that Aspersions which the ignorant had thrown on the unhappy, by intimating that these Dukes were of their own making.

THE Descriptions he has given us of France, Italy, Malta, Egypt, &c. are such as shew that the Genius and Disposition of the People made as strong an Impression on him, as the natural or artificial Wonders of their respective Countries. He is equally an Admirer of Men and Things, examines both candidly, and wherever he can be suspected of erring, it is on the right Side. He had it seems, a great Delight in collecting scattered Pieces of History of all sorts, and was as well pleased to contemplate the Steadiness and solid Prudence of a Dutch Skipper, as the wonderful variety of Adventures which have happened to Princes, publick Ministers or Favourites, of which however we find Instances in his Writings. I know it may be objected, that we have already many particular Accounts of Egypt, but this has so little to do with the present Affair, that I am positive if we did not know from their Titles that the Accounts

counts we already have, relate to the same Country of which Mr. Brown speaks, we should scarce discern it from the Comparison of their Contents, as I could easily shew, if it were not for anticipating the Reader's Pleasure.

THE intelligent Reader may possibly wonder, after turning over these Sheets, that he finds in them no particular Account of the Antiquities in the Upper Egypt, which our Author had such an Opportunity of describing, and delivering his Opinion upon. To obviate this, I must inform him, that our Author wrote a distinct Treatise on this Subject, addressed to a Person of Distinction in France, and that after his Return into Europe, he illustrated it with very curious Notes, and many Quotations from the Ancients; and that he disjoined it from his Travels, because its Length would too much have interrupted them, and on Account of its relating to a learned Subject, and was therefore intended to be made a Part of a Volume of Miscellanies, which he had actually made ready for the Press. So much of this Subject however as was necessary to explain the several Topics on which he treats in this Book, is interspersed in proper Places; for tho' he made it his Practice to write distinct Treatises on important Heads, yet he very seldom refers hither and thither, being

being such a Friend to Method, that he never thought any Time lost which was employ'd in making a Thing perspicuous. I have Reason to believe, that besides what will be found in this Book relating to the Art of Medicine as practised by the Egyptians, he wrote also a more large and distinct Treatise of Chyrurgical Operations, which in all Probability is lost; but there is still remaining among his Papers a sort of Egyptian Dispensatory, whether written by himself, or transcribed from the Works of any Author, I am not Judge enough of the Matter to determine. More I could say as to other Things of a like Nature, but as they have no very strict Connection with the Points I propose to explain in this Preface, I shall not swell it by expatiating on them here.

SUCH Pieces of Natural History as are here and there interspersed in this Work, as they come in pertinently, so they are penn'd with great Circumspection, our Author always affecting the middle Track, and being alike afraid of deviating into Credulity on the one hand, or into a supercilious Infidelity on the other. It does not appear that he has relied much on Authority in what he delivers of this sort, and that whenever he does do so, he gives fair Warning to the Reader to prevent the placing of other Men's Mistakes to his Account. A necessary Precaution
this,

this, since not only unlearned Travellers, but even Men of deep Reading, and tolerable Understanding, have erred grossly in this Particular, the former thinking they had travelled to no Purpose, if thereby they had not acquired a Licence to relate all they heard, as confidently as all they saw; the latter so intoxicated with the Love of the Antients, that to support a Passage in Herodotus, to justify a Fact related by Diodorus, or to make good somewhat in Pliny's Natural History, take a great deal of unnecessary Pains, and not only give a wrong Bias to their Thoughts, but which is still more extraordinary to their Eye Sight; so strongly are they possessed with a Desire of beholding Things not as they are, but as they were in the Times of those ancient Writers, or rather as they were represented to them, and on that Account by them to their Readers. But tho' our Author had read, and very much esteemed the Ancients, yet he did not idolize them, for which he certainly deserves Commendation. I might say somewhat in Favour of that Accuracy and Perspicuity with which all his Accounts of Natural Things are written; but that I think would be prejudging the Reader, and might possibly prejudice the Author, rather than do him good; I shall therefore pass this by, and proceed to another remarkable Head.

THE Passages relating to Chemistry, or rather to Alchemy in the following Book, deserve particular Notice. It was the darling Folly of the last Age, and of many Ages preceding it, there was scarce a Monastery in England which had not its Chemist; and in Germany the Humour was still stronger, insomuch that there were not only many Pretenders to the Philosopher's Stone, I mean Men who pretended to have the Possession of it, but they also devised so many Methods for securing their own Reputation, that there are very Numbers, and those not unintelligent People, who still believe that the grand Secret was known to and practised by several of these German Monks. Every Body knows, that this Enthusiastic Notion prevailed so strongly here, that it was found necessary to make a Law to prevent such pernicious Practices as Men were found to run into under Pretence of the Multiplication of Gold. In France, Spain, and Italy, the same Notions turned the Heads of many, and that they were not confined within the Bounds of Europe, the Reader will find abundant Proofs in the following Sheets. As to our Author himself, he appears in this Work to have been quite an Infidel with Respect to the Doctrine of Transmutation; for though on Account of certain Reasons which he mentions,
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he delivers his Sentiments cautiously, and in soft Terms, yet nothing can be more apparent, than that he look'd upon all the pompous Pretences of the Alchymist, either as unmeaning Rapsodies, or down right Delusions. This he did not from any Prejudice, but from the Knowledge he had had both of the Theory and Practice of this Art, in Favour of which he has inserted a short Account of the Reasons why Transmutation may be accounted probable, which as some intelligent Persons have informed me is an excellent Piece. His want of Belief therefore proceeded from Defect in the Evidence, and from nothing else; and consequently though the Friends of this Science may believe him in the wrong, yet they must impute the Error not to his Will, but to his Judgment.

ABOUT the Year 1692, he wrote a pretty large Treatise expressly on this Subject, at the Request as it should seem, of some Person of very great Distinction, who had his Head turned this Way, and who was mightily pleased with our Author's Conversation on the Subject. In this Treatise he does not seem to have alter'd his Opinion, or at least very materially, for having first explained the Nature of Metals, and the Reasons for and against Transmutation, he then proceeds to a most copious History of all
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the Possessors and reputed Possessors of the Philosopher's Stone in all Ages, and in all Parts of the World, including an Account of the Rosicrucians, or illuminated Brethren. He likewise mentions, where they occur, the Objections which had been made to the Credibility of any of these Histories. This is the most finished Piece which remains in my Power, and as far as I am able to judge, is not the original Treatise, but a fair Copy from it, there being no Amendments or Interlineations, whence it is possible there may be other Copies of it. Our Author concludes nothing therein, he contents himself with stating the Facts and Reasons on both Sides, leaving the Judgment to the Person to whom the Treatise is addressed. It is however my private Sentiment, that by this Time he inclined to believe that Transmutation was possible and practicable, but that there was little hopes of being able to render it profitable. I confess I have gone a little out of my Road, but the Sight of so curious a Building may possibly excuse me, and even oblige my Reader, especially since I have not detained him long; but having just shewn him a Prospect of the Edifice, returned again into the beaten Track.

*I have now discharged my Duty as an Editor, and if the following Piece is so happy as to meet with a
good*

good Reception (as I doubt not it will) I shall consider it as an Obligation laid upon me, to publish the Treatises which made up the rest of the Volume I copied. At present they are Curiosities, and they will be always so, unless by this Means I should gain an Opportunity of making them of general Use. But this depends upon the Publick, and to the Publick I therefore leave it.



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T H E
T R A V E L S
O F
Edward Brown, &c.



W H E N Men write the History of their own Lives, Vanity, whatever Colour may be pretended, is generally at the Bottom the real Motive. The Tenderness we have for our selves, unsatisfied with extending as far as the Grave, often presses those who have the Capacity of Writing, to transfer it also to their Memory ; and like *Horace*, to erect Monuments to themselves beyond the reach of Rage or Time. Perhaps I may my self be governed by that foolish Self-fondness in what I am now writing, or at least it may pass for such, amongst critical Judges, if these Sheets should ever transgress the boundaries of a Closet, and thrust themselves amongst the numerous Lives, Histories and Travels, which are daily sent from the Press, into the World.

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BUT if I am in any Degree acquainted with the Secrets of my own Breast, this Work is composed from very different Inducements. The Heart of Man, is hardly open to himself, and perhaps most People will find it as hard to account for the true Motives of their own Actions, as some Historians make it, to judge of those of Princes. My Custom throughout my Life has been, to preserve in a *Diary*, not only my Actions, and the Occurrences which have happened to me, but even the Thoughts and Reflections they occasioned, at the Time when they befell me. These Papers, which composed for the most Part the bulk of my Library, through all my Travels, are now swollen to a large Compass, and as I am happily arrived at last at that Haven of Rest, which through so many Climates I have been pursuing, I judged it proper to put them in Order for my own Use; not I confess without some View to their advantaging Others, if the impartial and candid Picture I draw of human Nature be capable of doing Service. As it is, I shall leave it behind me, to perish or to be preserved, as the Order of Things shall happen, and without farther Preface, proceed to it's Materials.

ON the 29th of *April*, 1641, the same Day the *House of Lords* voted the *Earl of Strafford* guilty of *High-Treason*, I was born at a Village call'd *Cottenham*, in *Cambridgeshire*. My Father was a Gentleman of about 300 Pounds *per Ann.* some of which lay in the *Isle of Ely*, and the rest in *Lincolnshire*. As my Parents had no other Children but my self, they were exceedingly careful of my Education, and especially took care to instill in me while Young, the Principles of the *Christian Religion*; but with Respect to particular Opinions, I was, by the Consent of them

them both, left at greater Liberty, because my Father was much in those Sentiments, called the Puritanical, and my Mother on the Contrary, who was the Daughter of a *Knight*, whose Name was *Brown*, a great admirer of Archbishop *Laud*.

My Father being himself well skill'd in the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues, as having been for some Years bred up in the Family of the Lord *Leapington*, kept me under his own Tuition, 'till I was between twelve and thirteen Years old, when he sent me to *London* to Mr. *Wm. Taylor*, a Minister of great Learning, then much followed and admired. I came to Town the same Day that the famous *John Lilburn* was tried and acquitted: And though then a Boy, yet being never put out of the Room when my Tutor received Company, or left at Home when he went to make a Visit, I observed a great many Things which made Impressions so strong upon me, as were not for many Years after to be worn out. Being upwards of Seventeen at the Decease of the Protector *Oliver*, with whom my Father had stood in high Favour, and under whom he had held Offices of considerable Profit, I took Notice of the great Concern he expressed thereat, being sensible also that it much hastened his own yeilding to Fate, which was in the *October* following of a hasty Consumption.

My Mother breathed her last about six Months before, and having no Relation of any Nearness left, except my Mother's Brother, who was a Trader of considerable Reputation at *Hull* in *Yorkshire*. Things too taking a surprizing Revolution, and making me, through the Share my Father had had in certain publick Transactions, obnoxious to the Persons then coming into Power, all

together concurred first to throwing me into a deep Melancholly, and next bringing me into a settled Resolution of quitting my native Country, in hopes that Time and Travel might wear out most of those Grievances which then oppressed me. My Tutor, Mr. *Taylor*, who survived but a very little Space after, at first opposed my Design, but finding me fixed, gave me, in Writing, a most excellent set of Instructions for the Regulation of my future Conduct.

THIS Determination of mine to quit *England*, was about the latter End of the Year 1660; but Things being then in so much Confusion, that a Licence was necessary for every Person who would go out of the Kingdom, and there being some Difficulty for me to obtain one, I retir'd, 'till the Interest of my Friends could procure it, to a Gentleman's House near *Spalding*, in *Lincolnshire*, to which I was recommended by my good Friend and Tutor Mr. *Taylor*.

THE Gentleman himself was a Man of the most agreeable Disposition, had all the Experience of a Life of threescore Years, without the least Taint of those troublesome Humours which generally attend old Age. His Family consisted of two Daughters, who lived at Home with him; his only Son, after having been under the Tuition of Mr. *Taylor*, studying then at the University of *Aberdeen*, in *Scotland*, whither his Father had sent him to preserve the Purity of his Morals. When I first came down to his Seat, I promised myself much Satisfaction, as well from the Temper of the old Man himself, as from the modest and sweet Behaviour of the Daughters. But as all Things here are uncertain, and nothing more so than the Conjectures of human Understanding, so
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the Accidents which befell me here, added, to the general Disgust I had taken, a particular Source of Uneasiness which necessarily required the Cure of Absence.

THE Seat wherein we dwelt, was one of the old-fashioned Structures, which appeared to be built without any other Rule, than the Inclination of its Founder. It had abundance of good Rooms, large Closets, several Galleries, and three or four different Gardens round it, as irregularly laid out as the House was built. In it's Front there was a *Rookery*, and another very large one behind it beyond the Gardens, near which were several Fish-Ponds, and on one Side of them a Warren, and on the other a thick Grove. All together it was confused, and yet agreeable; its Apartments not magnificent, but convenient; and the rural Ornaments about it, though rude in their Disposition, did not want their Beauties.

THE melancholy Temper which at that Time I was in, and to which I have always had a natural Tendency, inclined me perhaps to like this Place better than I should have done the neatest and most regular Building. There was about half a quarter of a Mile from the House, a long, strait, walk of Trees, which terminated at the Church-yard; hither I used frequently to resort, and either divert myself with some Book or other, or else entertained my Thoughts in the undisturbed Solitude of that Retirement. About three Weeks after my coming into the Country, when that civil strangeness which is paid to a New-Comer was pretty well worn off, and the Family treated me with almost the same Intimacy they did each other, I began to perceive that Mrs. *Lucy*, the old Gentleman's younger Daughter, behaved towards me with a peculiar Air. Abundance of Circumstances forced

me to take Notice of it, as well as confirmed me in my Conjecture, and a short interval of Time very fully revealed it.

AFTER Dinner one Day, while the old Gentleman went to his Nap, I had taken in my Pocket, *Barclay's Euphormion*, and strolled down the solitary Walk before mention'd. As I was amusing myself there with the Author I spoke of, I perceived the young Lady sitting on a little Bench, which was under three old spreading Trees, on a rising Ground, about a Stone's cast from the Path in which I was. Immediately, and almost without knowing what I did, I went up to her, and with an Air of Freedom, which I very rarely assumed, took out of her Hand a Book which she was reading: She parted with it very readily, though she would never receive it afterwards, and it proved to be the Poems of *Michael Drayton*, in which she was reading the Letter of King *John* to *Matilda*. This Interview, notwithstanding its suddenness, seemed not to have occasioned much surprize on either Side; the Lady managed her Share of Conversation so agreeably, that though my Bosom neither before nor since for any other Woman, ever felt any Emotions of an amorous Kind, yet I retired, after walking with her about two Hours, with a Heart full of Love.

THE elder Sister whose Name was *Martha*, and who was about 22 Years of Age, was a young Woman of an open, merry and generous Disposition, one who was always doing something which might delight or do good to others. This Sister *Lucy*, who was about four Years younger, seemed to be of a more reserved Temper, she spoke very little, but when she did, it was with a
Sweetness

Sweetness which I at least never observed in any other Woman; she affected to read much, was often in her Closet, and though her Behaviour in Company was always easy, yet something in her Countenance plainly shewed she was better pleased when alone.

THE old Gentleman, when I had been about *six Weeks* in his House, informed me with great Joy, that his Son was safely arrived at *York*, and that the *Thursday* following he expected him Home. He is (said the good old Man) about three Years older than you, and as I see there is a great Likeness in your Tempers, I promise myself much satisfaction from that Friendship which I shall recommend to you both. As you think it will be improper to make much stir about your Licence 'till the beginning of the Spring, I hope we shall all be Happy together 'till that Time. I am desirous that my Son *Philip* should also see the World; and if it be convenient to you, would have him be the Companion of your Travels. I expressed the greatest respect and satisfaction at what the old Gentleman had been pleased to say, and assured him that nothing could give me greater Pleasure, than the being able to do any Thing which might be acceptable to him or his Family.

THINGS stood thus when the young Gentleman arrived, he appeared to have made the best use of his Time and of his Studies, having acquired all the Advantages that could be drawn from an *Academical Education*, without receiving from it the least Stain of Pedantry, or seeming to have leaned in any Degree to the other extream in order to avoid it. His own Virtues were sufficient to have recommended him to my Esteem and Friendship, had he not had an additional Title of being Son to a

Father, to whom I stood so much obliged. *Lucia's* Amour and mine was now so far advanced, that I was in some doubt, whether to propose a Marriage between Us, before, or after my return with her Brother from our Travels. For Love had so far altered my Intentions, that I, who before had resolved never to return Home after I had once left the *English* Shore, now with reluctance suffered the very Thought of my Departure to enter my Mind.

DURING this Space, I received by a special Messenger an Account from *London*, that the Earl of *Clarendon*, instead of yeilding to my Friends request for a *Licence* for me to depart the Kingdom, had declared that the Government stood in great need of certain Papers which were in the Hands of my Father at the Time of his Decease, and for which he was resolved to question me, where ever I could be found. This News augmented that embarrassment which from a Multitude of concurring unlucky Circumstances I was at that Time in ; and of all, none perplexed me so much as this Affair of Love.

LUCIA, I observed from the Time of her Brother's return, was exceedingly careful of speaking to me in his Presence. I saw her however almost every Night when the Moon shone, at our Walk by the *Church-Yard*, and when the Nights were dark sometimes in the Hall, near to which there were back Stairs that came both from her's and also my Apartment. The Lady did not indeed press me directly upon the Score of Matrimony, but I fancied at least that I saw in her a secret uneasiness which I judged must arise from that Cause. My Principles sufficiently restrained me from attempting any Thing beyond the Bounds of Decency and Honour ; and the
Lady's

Lady's Behaviour was always such as gave me not the least Suspicion of their not having been treated with a just Indignation if I had. However, there had so much passed between us, that I could not myself but think it reasonable, that some way or other should be proposed to put an End to this Affair ; and the Consideration of this way almost continually took up my Thoughts ; for on the one Hand, I could not bear to part entirely from *Lucia*, and on the other Hand, Matrimony was a Thing very inconvenient for me at this Time.

My Intimacy with her Brother encreasing daily, and the likeness of our Manners seeming to have created a very strong Affection, I resolved to make him my Confident in this Affair, in which my Passion had engaged me against the dictates of my Reason. I proposed to myself both to ask him his sincere Advice as a Friend, and at the same Time to engage his Interest as a Brother in speaking to his Father. Accordingly one Morning as he came into my Chamber while I was reading, I begged him to sit down and permit me to inform him of an Affair in which he himself was concerned, and on which my Quiet very strongly depended. The young Gentleman seemed very much surprized, and replied that there could be nothing which affected my Peace in which he was not Interested, begging me to go on, and depend on this, that nothing I could ask of him should be omitted.

WHEN in as few Words as I was able, I had acquainted him with the Sources of my Uneasiness, I perceived the Story affected him with almost as much Concern as it did me ; I imputed it wholly to the sincerity of his Friendship, and expected with Impatience what Expedient he would propose. As soon as he had recovered himself

himself from that Surprise into which the Story that I had told him had put him ; my Friend (said the young Man at last) there could not possibly have happened a Thing in which I would more studiously have avoided giving my Advice, than where a Person, for whom I have so deep an Affection as for you, should have indulged himself in an amorous Inclination ; I know very well, though I cannot say by Experience, how little regard is had to Reason, by him who hath once suffered his Breast to be taken up by that ensnaring Passion ; but when to these Difficulties there is added, the near Relation I have to the Lady with whom you are in Love, I see myself surrounded with so many difficulties, that nothing but the tender Friendship I have for you, should engage me to speak a Syllable more on this Head. As it therefore so nearly concerns you, I will comply entirely with your Request, and without any Regard to Family, or that Affection we naturally have for so near Relations, give you my sincere Sentiments on the Subject as you have proposed it.

I thanked him for so extraordinary a Proof of his Esteem, and begged he would go on : He hesitated a little, and then said, I am persuaded (my Friend) you will not insist on my descending to particulars, when out of regard to your Peace, I tell you that you would do well to banish from this Hour all Thoughts of my Sister. I know her, Sir, and her Disposition, it would make you uneasy in Marriage. I am convinced you have more good Sense than to ask me more Questions, and I expect it from our Friendship that you ask them no where else. As soon as he had said this, he went out of the Room, and left me more disquieted and more confounded than
since

since that Time I ever was from all the Accidents that have befallen me in Life. That Evening being to meet *Lucia* in the Church-yard Walk, I had a thousand Thoughts crouded into my Head, which occasioned as many different Resolutions of going, and not going, as Love or Reason, or rather Suspicion prevailed.

At last, when the Hour of Appointment drew nigh, I went without determining with myself whether or no I should mention to her any Thing that had passed between me and her Brother. I walked to and fro a long Time, so much taken up with the hurry of my Cogitations, that the Moon declined almost before I perceived it, and being disappointed in my designed Interview, I had much ado to blunder Home in the Dark. As soon as I entered my Chamber, looking on my Watch, I found it was Four o'Clock in the Morning, I did not go to Bed but passed the Remainder of the Time 'till the Family were up, in a Multitude of uneasy Reflections.

The next Day at Dinner, *Lucia* was missing, upon which I could not forbear asking her Father whether she was gone; the old Gentleman said, he had a younger Sister dangerously ill at *London*, and that he thought it proper that her Neice should be near her in case of Death. I looked very steadily on her Brother, when his Father was making me this Answer, and observed that he heard the Discourse with a great deal of Pain. After Dinner we walked a good while in the Garden, where the young Gentleman repeated the same Story his Father had told me, but without taking the least Notice of that uneasiness, which he might naturally suppose her abrupt Departure might give me. As soon as conveniently I could, I disengaged myself from his Conversation, and
retiring

retiring to my own Chamber, began to think more coolly of what had hitherto passed.

My Temper which at that Time was very unpractised in bearing Uneasiness, made me incapable of hiding it ; to prevent therefore any Notice being taken of my Disorder, I declined going down to Supper, under pretence of my having a Fit of the Gravel : I pretended to be worse toward Night, that I might not be plagued with Company ; and indeed it succeeded so well, that I had all the Evening to myself, which I spent in very serious Consultation. The Result of which was, that in order to make myself easy, I would quit the House. About six the next Morning, I ordered my Servant to get the Horses ready, and set out for my Uncle's House at *Hull* ; leaving a Letter with the old Gentleman's Groom for his Master, in which I informed him, that my Affairs had taken a very ill turn at *London*, and that I found it necessary to retire farther *North*, in order the better to conceal myself. I knew very well that *Lucia* was sent away on my Account, and as they had not thought fit to acquaint me with the Reasons of her Journey, I did not think myself obliged to be very particular, as to the Motives of mine.

I travelled with great Speed, 'till I arrived at my Uncle's House, where without suffering the late Accident which had happened to me, to make too great Impression upon my Mind, I began to settle my Affairs in earnest for my Journey, in which the Assistance of my Uncle forwarded me a great deal. I soon converted my Estate, which my Father before his Death had disposed of to this Uncle in trust for me into ready Money, which with what my Father had left me in Cash, amounted to
about

about seven thousand Pounds, besides some Jewels of considerable Value, which I always reserved, and carried privately about me.

THE only Thing that remained was, to consult my Uncle as to the Method I should take, of getting out of the Kingdom safely, and the Route I was to follow after my landing in *France*, thorough which Kingdom it was agreed I should Travel. My Uncle advised me to assume my Mother's Name of *Brown*, and having bought an old Chariot privately, we had it with like secrecy painted in a spare Warehouse, and my Mother's Arms blazoned thereon. This effectually answered our Design, for the Officers at the Port took the Chariot to belong to some of the *Mountacute* Family, and suffered me to go on board the Vessel I had hired to transport me, with hardly a Question asked or examining any Part of my Baggage. I carried over with me a Servant whose Name was *Johnson*, and another Person very skillful in the *French* Language and the Manners of that Nation, all whose Expences I had agreed to furnish to *Paris*, whether he was going to some Relations.

THIS Person I mentioned last, I found to be a Man very well versed, not only in the *French*, but in the *Italian* and *Spanish* Tongues, having passed almost *ten* Years, as he told me, in travelling through most Parts of *Europe*. I had the Curiosity, both to inform myself, and to divert the Passage, to enquire somewhat more particularly into his Adventures than otherwise I should have done. The Man who had already been very much obliged to me, and who was to depend on me at least as far as *Paris*, made no great Scruple of talking very freely of the Reasons which engaged him to pass through so many Places heretofore,

tofore, and which had now driven him, though much unprovided, upon travelling again.

HE said that his Father being a Tenant under the Marquess of *Newcastle*, he himself, while a Boy, was taken into the Service of that noble Lord, that he was in his Family when he became General in the *North* for the King against the *Parliament* Forces, that he served him and under him his Majesty with the utmost Fidelity, 'till every Thing was lost, and the Royal Party quite vanquished, when he was under a Necessity of submitting on the best Terms he could to those then in Power. Having been raised to a Lieutenant of Horse, under the aforementioned Marquess of *Newcastle*, and having been much entrusted in Expresses, and private Messages to and from the King at *Oxford*, and on his Affairs also in *France* and *Holland*; one of his Relations mentioned him to *Thurloe*, the Protectors Secretary, as a Man who might be of Use, if he could be brought over.

HE was then at *London*, and his Friend having obtained Leave, spoke to him of the Affair. At first, his old Principles of Loyalty made him absolutely refuse having any Thing to do with the Secretary or his Master; but after some Time, his Friend's persuasions, and much more his own Necessities, forced him to think better of it, and to consent to making a Visit to *Thurloe*, in order to hear his Propositions. His Friend was very well pleased at this, knowing that nothing could be more acceptable to *Oliver*, than the gaining such Persons to his Party. He signified it therefore immediately to the Secretary, and begged he might have a Day appointed him to bring his Friend.

THURLOE

THURLOE ordered that he should come the next Evening, when having conversed with the *Lieutenant* about an Hour, he desired him to retire into an Anti-Chamber, and in about half an Hour after, the Secretary returned and introduced him to the *Protector*, who sat in a little Room behind that in which they had been first entertained, where he could hear every Word that passed. The Man, who appeared to me upon other Occasions to have wanted no Courage, acknowledged that he had never in his Life felt so great an Emotion of his Spirits, as at this Interview. The *Protector* perceived it, and bid him sit down and compose himself, that he might be assured Nothing should hurt him as to what had passed, and that he had something to propose to him, which might make him very easy for the future. The *Lieutenant* at this began to take Heart, and when he had recollected himself a little, after thanking his Highness for that Favour, assured him that he would serve him as faithfully in whatsoever he entrusted him, as ever he had done his Royal Master. *Oliver* smiled at that Expression, and said, he knew his Principles too well to put him upon any Thing that had any Relation to the Affairs of *Charles Steward*. For (added *Cromwell*) I have small Regard for any new Servant who would recommend himself to me, by betraying the Secrets of him whom he had pretended to serve from a Principle of Religion and Duty. I will pay you very well, for what ever I employ you in, and expect nothing more from you than Secrecy and Resolution. I am going to Council upon a Matter which will keep me late, but *Thurloe* will acquaint you with what I expect of you.

AFTER

AFTER the *Protector* was gone, the Secretary paid him *one hundred* Pounds before he spoke a Word to him of the Business, and then giving him two Letters of Credit, each to the Extent of *five hundred* Pounds, one on a *Swiss* Banker at *Paris*, and the other on a *Merchant* at *Marseilles*; he then gave him his Instructions in very few Words, which were, that he should travel from *Calais*, through the Heart of *France* to *Marseilles*, according to a Route which should be delivered unto him by the Banker on whom he had his Credit at *Paris*. He was commanded to observe very diligently the State of that Kingdom in every Respect, which he was ordered to put into Writing, and to digest in the best Method he could; it was more particularly recommended to him to have a strict Eye to the Condition of the *Huguenots* in that Kingdom; to discover as well as he was able, the general Characters of the Persons then of greatest Rank in *France*; and he was finally enjoined to pay a strict Obedience to whatever Order he received, sealed with a particular Seal which was shewn him, and a fair Impression thereof in Wax, put up in a little Case like a Medal delivered to him.

THUS furnished, he set out in consequence of the Orders he had received, and performed his Commission with so great Exactness, that at *Marseilles* he received new Letters of Credit, and fresh Commands to pass with the utmost privacy through *Spain*. When he had so done, to embark for *Leghorn*, and after visiting such and such States of *Italy*, to return by the Way of *Switzerland*, *Burgundy* and *Lorain*, into the *united Provinces*, and so Home. He performed this Journey so as to return into *England* the very Year that *Oliver* died, and about two Months

Months after it. By this he lost that Reward he might reasonably have expected, for the great Services he performed and Intelligence he gave; some Instances of which, I shall have Occasion hereafter to mention.

THIS Disappointment was the Cause of his falling into low Circumstances, and at the strange Change in the Year 1660, great Endeavours being used to take him, on a false Accusation of his having been a Spy on the Court of King *Charles the Second*, in his Exile, he privately fled into *Yorkshire*, and lived there in a very low State, 'till he happened to be recommended by a near Relation of his to my Uncle, who sent him with me in order to his getting to *Paris*, where he had an Uncle in the Service of the Duke of *Orleans*, by whose Interest he was in hopes of getting something, which might gain him Bread:

FINDING by this Relation, that Mr. *Fetherstone* was in much the same Condition with myself, I advised with him as to the properest Place for my landing in *France*; we agreed at last that it should be at *Diepe*, and I gave the Master Instructions accordingly, who promised to comply with them, and to recommend us at our Arrival in Port, to a Person of his Acquaintance, at whose House we might be well accomodated so long as we should incline to stay there. This was very acceptable to a young Traveller, whose Apprehensions had driven him from Home, and who had as yet settled no Resolution as to his Conduct abroad. In seven Days we arrived at *Diepe*, and were carried by the Master to the House of one Mr. *Villeneuve*, who had been formerly Master of a Vessel, trading to *England*; but growing in Years, and having acquired a sufficiency, chose to pass the remnant of his

Life in quiet. He was a little Man, well made, and though near *threescore*, very lively and full of Spirit. He received us very kindly, and treated us with as much familiarity, as if he had been as long acquainted with us as the Master of the Vessel, who recommended us. The latter who was to remain at *Diepe*, 'till he could take in a Freight on my Relation's Account, lodged with Mr. *Fetherstone* and myself, at this Gentleman's House, which was of great Service to me. The very Day after my arrival, I took care to be provided with a *French* Master, who proved a very sensible Man, and taught me to distinguish between the true *French*, and the *Dialect* of *Normandy*, as well in regard to the turn of Expression, as to the Words and Pronunciation peculiar to the Inhabitants of this Province.

I soon found that Mr. *Fetherstone*, though he often talk'd of it, was in no great hurry to go to *Paris*, and I readily guessed the Reason, which was his fear of not meeting there with a supply of Money. When I had considered this Matter attentively, I began to look upon it as a very great good Fortune to myself; never were *two* Travellers better suited, he had Years, Experience, and Integrity: I had just Sense enough to discover my own Wants, and to know that as Things stood, I should be more benefited by his Instructions, than he could be by any Services I could do him. The former were Treasures whence I drew great Advantages during my whole Life, the latter temporary Things no way answerable to his Merit. The first Thing I did, was to remove all scruples between us, I informed him thoroughly of my Condition, and having received *fifty* Pistoles on a Letter of Credit, I made him a Present of *Twenty*,
intreat-

intreating him to give me his Advice freely, as to my Conduct, and the necessary means to make my Residence easy in *France*, 'till either Necessity or Choice induced me to remove.

HE told me that he was well acquainted with a Gentleman at *Roan*, a Man of great Honour, and very extensive Knowledge, one who had formerly made a great Figure in the World, but had for many Years lived in privacy, on account of his having incurr'd the displeasure of *Cardinal Richelieu*. To this Gentleman he assured me, he would recommend me in the strongest Terms, adding, that after a Residence of *five* or *six* Months under such a Tutor, I should have Knowledge enough of the *French* Language and Nation to regulate my future Behaviour without farther help. This Point once resolved on, I address'd myself to the Provision of our Master's Freight, according to the Instructions given me by my Relation, and while this was doing, diverted myself very agreeably with Mr. *Villeneuve*, and the rest of my Friends, not caring as yet to mix much with Strangers.

ONE of the first Discoveries I made was, that our *Protector* had rendered himself strangely formidable in *France*; they believed in this Country, that he could draw together *forty* or *fifty* thousand Men when he pleased; they thought him wise enough to foresee all Things, and bold enough to undertake any Thing. This was chiefly owing to the great Deference paid him by the *Cardinal Mazarin*, of whom it was commonly said, that he did not fear the *Devil* so much as *Oliver Cromwell*. As far as I could afterwards learn, he feared both of them enough, and suffered his fears to have a strong influence on his Actions. It happened that as we were

conversing one Evening on the Subject of *Oliver's* Power and Grandeur, Mr. *Villeneuve* asked me if I knew what became of the young *Lady* who attempted to assassinate the *Protector*. I told him very freely that I had never heard of any such Thing; but that living as I did, at a great Distance from *London*, it might for all that have happened, and therefore I desired he would tell me what he had heard of it, which he readily did. The Sum of his Relation was this.

THE famous *Duke* of *Buckingham*, who was assassinated at *Portsmouth*, left behind him two Sons. *George*, who succeeded him in his Honour, and the Lord *Francis Villiers*, who was kill'd at *St. Neots* in *Huntingtonshire*, by *Cromwell* himself. This young Nobleman was passionately fond of Mrs. *Letitia Greenville*, who was as much in Love with him. From the Day of his Death, she conceived in her Mind a strong Resolution to revenge it. In order to this, she procured a Picture of General *Cromwell*, which she set up in a Barn adjoining to her Father's House, whether she went frequently to fire at it with a Pistol, 'till by Degrees she had attained a Facility in hitting it, which she judg'd sufficient for her purpose. Coming then up to *London*, with her Father, Mother, and other Relations, she for some Time watched an Opportunity to perpetrate the Murder she had premeditated. At length, in the Year 1654, an Occasion offered: The *Protector* was invited to Dinner in the *City*, and was to pass in Pomp by the House in which herself and the Family lodged. Mrs. *Greenville* dress'd herself with all imaginable Care, a Thing she had never done since the Death of her Lover, and having placed herself in the Balcony, fired at the *Protector* as he passed, and lodged

lodged a brace of Balls in the Shoulder of his Son *Henry's* Horse, who rode next him. This put a Stop to the Procession; the *Ladies* in the Balcony threw themselves on their Knees, while Mrs. *Greenville* extending the Pistol, cried out, that it was she who had fired it, and that she was sorry she had not kill'd the *Tyrant*. The *Protector* desired the Company to go on, saying the Woman was mad, leaving Colonel *Holmes* and a small Party of the *Guards* to protect the House, and to secure her Person. When the *Colonel* came to execute his Commission, the Parents of the young Lady assured him she had been melancholly for some Years, and that she was certainly *out* of her *Senses*; upon which the *Colonel* withdrew to carry this News to the *Protector*. When *Cromwell* was acquainted therewith, he ordered the Guard to be withdrawn; but the next Day sent Orders to the Lady's Father to take Care to confine his Daughter, that she might not attempt any Thing of the like Nature against another. After this, Mrs. *Greenville* was never heard of, and the Enemies of *Cromwell* say, he caused her to be *poisoned*.

WHEN Mr. *Fetherstone* and I were alone, I asked him if he had ever heard any Thing of this Story before. He answered in the *Negative*, and assured me it was a pure Fiction. Lord *Francis Villiers* said he, was kill'd the same Year the King was murder'd. He was a very handsome Gentleman, and very amorous. I have heard it said, that when the Soldiers stripp'd him, they found a Lock of a Lady's Hair fastened to a Ribban which hung upon his Breast under his Shirt. But this Lady's Name was Mrs. *Kirk*. Besides, he was neither kill'd by *Cromwell*, nor at *St. Neots*. His Party was routed on *Banstead*

Downs, by Sir *Michael Livesay*, whose Soldiers killed *Lord Francis* because he obstinately refused Quarter. I was mightily surprized at this Tale, out of which our Landlord would never be persuaded; but before I left *France*, I heard so many of the same Sort, that I began to doubt almost every Thing I heard. Hence I took a Resolution never to be over Confident as to the Circumstances of Facts happening out of the Sphere of my own Observation, which proved of great Use to me afterwards, by eradicating that Tenaciousness almost inherent to Youth, and by opening the Door to all Instructions that were offered me.

WHEN all Things were ready, and we expected every Day a fair Wind to carry the *Vessel*, we came in, back to *England*, the *Master* fell Sick of a kind of malignant Fever, which detained him and us three Weeks at *Diepe* longer than we designed. During his Illness, he was attended by an *Irish* Physician, and a *Scotch* Minister. The former was of the *Romish* Persuasion, but a Man of good Sense and great Moderation, who had quitted his Country a little after the breaking out of the Rebellion. He complained heavily of the Administration of publick Affairs in that Island. He said, that the *English* Governors were too ready to drive the Natives to extremities; that they might enrich themselves and their dependants by Forfeitures. He spoke with great abhorrence of the *Massacre*, but alledged, that the Punishment thereof fell heaviest upon those who had nothing to do with it. That at first, no Distinction was made between the Rebels and the well affected of the Catholics; but that on the contrary, all the Papists in general were treated as Persons proscribed, which compelled Numbers to take Arms in their own Defence,

Defence, who otherwise abhorred Rebellion. That by degrees the King and his Ministers were persuaded of this which induced them to enter into a Correspondence with the loyal *Catholicks*, and this gave a Handle to the Earl of *Holland*, when he deserted the King, and returned to the Parliament to report that the Rebels in *Ireland* were countenanced by the King. He spake with mighty Concern of the Misery of his Country, which in the Space of *thirty* Years, he affirmed had lost a third Part of its Inhabitants, and described, whenever our Discourses led him to it, the sad Condition of the native *Irish* in very moving Terms.

THE *Scotchman* was descended of a *Popish* Family, and had been sent while a Youth to *Paris*, for Education. The Murder of *Henry IV.* and the Books published on that Occasion, gave him a high Disgust of the *Religion* he had been bred in, and a most bitter Aversion to the *Jesuits*. He was, in other respects, a humane and pious Man; he recommended to the sick Person solid and rational Penitence, and advised him to be rather afraid of continuing in a sinful World, than of Death. He told him that to a Man who firmly believ'd the fundamental Doctrines of the *Christian Faith*, the latter could not be very terrible; and he said, that it was a strong Testimony of the Truth of the *Christian Religion*, that it disarmed Death of its Sting, and taught a rational Creature to expect Dissolution without horror. By the Care of these Men, our Master and ourselves were much better'd, and as soon as he recovered, he embarked, and with a fair Wind, sailed for the Port of *London*, where he arrived in *three* Days; and on Advice thereof, we immediately prepared for our Journey to *Roan*.

DIEPE, one of the safest Ports in *Normandy*, is seated on an Arm of the Sea, between *two* Hills, which by their shooting into the Sea, form a *Bay*; the entrance of the Haven is narrow, but once entered is very commodious. The Town itself is handsomely built, its Streets broad and well paved, the Houses fair but not high; it was at this Time well fortified, but hath been since much improved. It was the first Town which acknowledged the Authority of *Henry IV.* and in its Neighbourhood he first fought for his Crown, and that too not much for his Advantage. During the whole War, he was very careful of it, being the Port where the *English* Succours generally debarqued. There are in it a great Number of Ivory Turners, and the Inhabitants in general seem to be active and industrious, and one Thing is especially remarked for their Honour, that they have always produced from amongst them, the best *Seamen* in *France*. To say the Truth, they are, generally speaking, well qualified for maritime Employment, as they are more active, daring, and inquisitive than their Neighbours. In the Broils which happened in the last Reign, the *Duke of Longueville*, who declared *against* the *King*, or rather *for* his *Mother* against his *Minister*, fortified *Diepe*, and the Works he then cast up have been ever since maintain'd, and new ones added as Occasion offered.

THE first of *June* 1662, we set out for *Roan*, where we arrived next Day, having travelled *thirteen* Leagues, *nine* the first Day, and *four* the second. Mr. *Fetherstone* having by way of Precaution written to his Friend M. *de St. Dennis*, he met us at *Tostes*, where we lay, with a Coach, in which we came safe to his House before
Noon

Noon next Day. The Country through which we travelled was extremely pleasant, or at least it seem'd so to me. The Accommodations in the *Inn*, were not such as could be boasted of ; but the Complacency of the People, and the earnest Desire they shewed to oblige us, amply supply'd all deficiencies, and left us no room to complain. As we travelled the last four Leagues, Mr. *Fetherstone* acquainted his Friend that some disappointments in my expectations had engaged me to visit *France*, and that he had recommended me to him as to a Person who would be sure to prevent my repenting the beginning my Travels with the Sight of *Normandy*. Mr. *St. Dennis* said, it happened very luckily, for that a Friend who had lived with him for about *Seven* Years being lately dead, he had some Thoughts of leaving *Roan*, most of the Inhabitants being of so litigious a Temper, that he found it no easy Matter to live at quiet, though he used all the Precaution imaginable, and was content to suffer small Inconveniences, rather than attempt to remedy them by Law-Suits. He assured me that I should be as much at Home as if the House was my own, and that he would do all in his Power to make the Time of my stay agreeable to me. Mr. *Fetherstone* said, that in less than a Month he should be obliged to go to *Paris*, and that it would give him the highest Satisfaction to see me so well settled. Thus by the Time we reached our Journey's End, all our Affairs were as well adjusted, as if we had lived together many Years ; nor do I know that during my stay at *Roan*, there happened the slightest Cause of dissatisfaction to any of us.

THE House of Mr. *de St. Dennis* stood near the City Wall. It was composed of a Body and two small
Wings,

Wings, the former had three, the latter, one Room each on a Floor, there was a Garden behind, which by the Gales from the River was render'd very cool and pleasant; at the Bottom of it there was a small Apartment, consisting of a kind of Hall, and two Closets, over which was a Library, twice as long as the lower Building, the Ends of it being supported by Pillars, forming two little Porticoes, one on each Side of the Hall. In this Hall we used to sup of an Evening, during the Heat of the Summer, and to entertain ourselves with Discourses, either of a Serious or Comic Nature as Occasion serv'd. Mr. *de St. Dennis* had an excellent Memory, a Blessing which I have observ'd to be more common in *France* than elsewhere; he had spent his Youth at Court, or in the Army; he had been always a great Lover of Books; and having enjoy'd a long Season of Rest and Recollection, there was hardly any Subject of which he could not speak with great Propriety, and illustrate it with Stories equally pleasant and to the Purpose.

It happen'd once, that speaking of doubtful Events, Mr. *de St. Dennis* asked me, whether the Death of *Perkin Warbeck* as an Impostor, was not held to be of this Nature in *England*? To which I answer'd in the *Negative*, and that most People were satisfied he was what he was executed for, a downright Impostor: That may be, said he, but at the Time of his Death, the general Opinion was otherwise, and many of your Countrymen of great Quality, took it upon their Deaths, that he was the Son of *Edward IV*; how the general Opinion comes to be now otherwise, continued he, I find it not difficult to assign the Cause. *Henry VII.* a wise
and

and artful Prince, as he put him to Death for an *Impostor*, so he took all the Care he could to establish the Opinion of his being guilty after his Demise; as he likewise took Care to extinguish the Pretensions of the *House of York*, and to depress its Adherents during his whole Reign. His Son *Henry VIII.* followed the same *Maxims*; and in the Course of near 50 Years, that the Throne was afterwards fill'd by his Posterity, whose Interest it was that this Story, true or false, should be believ'd, we need not wonder that it became at last a kind of Article in your political Faith; and especially seeing the *House of Stuart* derived their *Rights*, not from the *House of York*, but from that of *Lancaster*.

FROM this Subject, by a Transition natural enough, we fell upon that of the Death of *Don Sebastian* King of *Portugal*, which we all agreed was a most mysterious Point. As mysterious as it is, said Mr. *de St. Denis*, I have in my Library above Stairs, a little Tract concerning it, which belonged to Father *Cayet*, and which may be taken for as certain and impartial a Relation thereof, as any that the World hath hitherto met with; this was a Curiosity not to be passed by, I intreated the Favour of perusing and making an Extract from it, which was readily granted. I have enquir'd concerning its principal Circumstances with great Circumspection, and have never met with any Reason to doubt the Credit of my Author, the Substance of whose Relation follows.

“ *SEBASTIAN* King of *Portugal* was born in
 “ the Year 1554. Sometime after the Demise of his Fa-
 “ ther, Brother to the reigning King, and was carefully
 “ educated by his Mother, who was Daughter to the
 “ famous

“ famous Emperor *Charles V.* In 1557, he succeeded
 “ his Uncle *John III.* In 1574, he conceiv'd a De-
 “ sign of making War on the *Moors*, and having made
 “ mighty Preparations for putting his Design in Execu-
 “ tion, on the 9th of *July*, 1578, he landed at *Tan-*
 “ *gier* with a great Army; on the 4th of *August*, the
 “ same Year, he fought the unfortunate Battle of *Al-*
 “ *cacar*, in which the *Moors* were victorious; tho' they
 “ lost their King, who died of a Fever, of which he
 “ had been long sick, in his Litter.

“ AFTER the Battle, the *Portugueze* missing their
 “ King, sent to those who were taken Prisoners, who
 “ thereupon sought carefully for his Body, which, as
 “ many supposed, was found. It had seven large
 “ Wounds, and by Reason of the excessive Heat of
 “ the Climate, was already in a State of Corruption.
 “ However, it was laid in a Tent, and the Nobility
 “ went to see it, but receiv'd no kind of Satisfaction,
 “ that it was the Body of their King; on the contrary,
 “ it was generally thought that it was not. Notwith-
 “ standing which, King *Philip* of *Spain*, having de-
 “ manded it, and as some report, having given a vast Sum
 “ for it; at length it was sent him, and he caused it to be
 “ interr'd, with all Royal Honours at *Bethlehem*, which
 “ stands a Mile from *Lisbon*, and is the usual Burying
 “ Place of the *Portugueze* Kings.

“ 'TIS certain, that the *Portugueze* Nation in gene-
 “ ral, did never credit the Story of his Death; but were
 “ so firmly persuaded that he was alive, that they readi-
 “ ly countenanc'd two Impostors, who were hardy
 “ enough to assume his Name. The *first* of these was
 “ the Son of a *Tile-Maker*, who was put upon it by

“ a Priest, who gave himself out to be the Bishop of
 “ *Garda*; and who took a Note of their Names who
 “ bestow’d their Benefactions on his *Disciple*, in order
 “ to their being repaid when he should be restor’d.
 “ They were quickly apprehended, the Priest hang’d,
 “ and the pretended King sent to the Gallies; this hap-
 “ pen’d in the Year 1585.

“ THE very same Year *Matthew Alvarez*, a Na-
 “ tive of the Island of *Tercera*, and the Son of a
 “ *Stone-Cutter*, was persuaded to give himself out for
 “ King *Sebastian*. This Man was a *Hermit*, and led
 “ in Solitude a harmless inoffensive Life. Many of
 “ whom he begg’d believ’d they saw in his Counte-
 “ nance the Features of Don *Sebastian*; they told him
 “ so, but he very honestly answer’d, that he was no
 “ King, but a poor *Hermit*. By Degrees however,
 “ Ambition got the better, both of his Reason and of
 “ his Virtue; he no longer answer’d as he was won’t,
 “ but on the contrary, gave all who interrogated him
 “ Cause to apprehend that he was really the King.
 “ By Degrees he permitted them to pay him Royal
 “ Honours, suffer’d his Hand to be kissed, and dined in
 “ Publick; nay, he went so far at last, as to write to
 “ the *Cardinal Archduke Albert*, commanding him to
 “ quit his Palace, for that he intended to resume the
 “ Government. Upon this, a Body of Troops was
 “ sent against him and his Adherents, by whom they
 “ were routed, and himself taken Prisoner. His Death
 “ quickly follow’d, accompanied with extraordinary
 “ Marks of Severity. He had his Right Hand cut off,
 “ after which he was strangl’d, and his Body quarter’d.
 “ By his Means the *Spanish* Government reckoned a
 “ Stop

“ Stop would be put to the Hopes of *Pretenders*, and
 “ to the credulous Folly of the *Portuguese*.

“ In 1598, notwithstanding these Severities, there
 “ went a Report, that the true *Don Sebastian* had been
 “ seen in *Italy*. Upon this, one *Manuel Antonez*,
 “ who had served the Cardinal *Henry*, who succeeded
 “ *Don Sebastian*, declar'd publickly in *Portugal*, that
 “ *Sebastian* was not kill'd at the Battle of *Alcacer*, but
 “ that himself return'd with him into *Portugal*; and
 “ that the King put himself into a Religious House in
 “ *Algarve*, there to do Pennance for his Temerity,
 “ in Vindication of which Account, he produced an
 “ Act drawn up in Form, under the Hand and Seal of
 “ the Father, *Guardian* of that Religious House. This
 “ Affair making a great Noise, *Manuel Antonez* was
 “ directed to apply himself to the Court of *Spain*, which
 “ Order he obey'd, and having produced his Paper to
 “ King *Philip*, was seized, committed to Prison, and
 “ never heard of more.

“ This new *Sebastian* appear'd first at *Padua*, where
 “ many pitied and reliev'd him. This making some
 “ Noise in the World, Directions were sent to *Padua*
 “ from *Venice*, to oblige the Person who called himself
 “ King of *Portugal*, to retire from thence in three Days,
 “ and in the Space of a Week, to quit the Dominions
 “ of *Venice*. He was sick when this Order was noti-
 “ fied to him, but as soon as he recover'd he went to
 “ *Venice*, in order to give an Account of himself to
 “ the *Seignory*. The Ambassador of *Spain* instantly
 “ applied himself to that *Senate*, demanding that this
 “ *Impostor* should be apprehended, and charging him
 “ with many enormous Crimes. He was accordingly
 in

“ in the Month of *November* thrown into a Dungeon,
 “ and Commissioners appointed to hear what the *Spa-*
 “ *nish* Ambassador could prove against him, which came
 “ at last to nothing at all.

“ HE was Eight and Twenty Times examined ; at first
 “ he answer'd readily all the Questions that were ask'd
 “ him concerning the Embassies sent to him, while he
 “ was King of *Portugal*, the Measures he had taken,
 “ the Letters he had written, and the Ministers he had
 “ made Use of. But at last he refus'd to answer any
 “ more Questions, addressing himself to his Judges in
 “ these Words. *My Lords, I am Sebastian King of*
 “ *Portugal, I desire you will suffer me to be seen by*
 “ *my Subjects, many of them have known, and must*
 “ *remember me ; many others, Strangers to that Nation,*
 “ *have likewise seen and conversed with me ; if any Proof*
 “ *can be offered, that I am an Impostor I am content to*
 “ *die ; but would you put me to Death meerly for having*
 “ *preferred you to the rest of the European Powers, in*
 “ *seeking Refuge in your Dominions ?*

“ DOCTOR *Sampajo*, and other *Portuguese*, then Re-
 “ sident in *Venice*, solicited vehemently his being set at
 “ Liberty ; the Commissioners inform'd them, that
 “ without a Certificate of indubitable Authenticity, as
 “ to the *Marks* by which Don *Sebastian* might be
 “ known, they could not set this Person at Liberty ;
 “ because they knew their Hatred to the *Castilians* to
 “ be such, that if Need were, they would acknowledge
 “ a *Negro* to be Don *Sebastian*. Dr. *Sampajo* upon
 “ this went privately to *Lisbon*, from whence he return'd,
 “ and brought with him to *Venice* a Canon, and an In-
 “ strument sign'd by an *Apostolick Notary*, containing an
 “ exact

“ exact Account of the Marks on Don *Sebastian*’s
 “ Body ; whereupon he renew’d his Request, which
 “ the *Seignory* evaded, alledging, they could not enter
 “ into such an Inquiry at the Request of private Persons,
 “ but that they were ready to do it, if any of the Po-
 “ tentates of *Europe* interested themselves therein. The
 “ *Portugueze* upon this, applied themselves to Foreign
 “ Courts with unwearied Diligence.

“ AT last, on the 11th of *December* the same Year,
 “ Don *Christopher* the younger, Son of Don *Antonio*,
 “ once King of *Portugal*, attended by *Sebastian Figuera*,
 “ arriv’d at *Venice*, with Letters from the *States Gene-*
 “ *ral* and Prince *Maurice*. Upon this, a Day of Au-
 “ dience was appointed, on which the Person calling
 “ himself *Sebastian*, was seated on the Right Hand of
 “ the Prince, and permitted to deliver his Pretensions
 “ in Writing to the *Duke*, and two Hundred *Senators*,
 “ who when they spoke to him gave him the Title of
 “ *Illustriissimo*. This was on the *Tuesday*, on *Wednes-*
 “ *day*, *Thursday*, and *Friday*, the *Council* was conti-
 “ nued. At *Ten* in the Evening of the last mention’d
 “ Day, they made their Report to the *Senate*, who im-
 “ mediately summon’d Don *Sebastian* before them, to
 “ whom they gave the same Injunction that he had
 “ before receiv’d at *Padua*; while this Order which
 “ was in Writing was read, the *Senators* continued
 “ standing, while he who call’d himself *Sebastian* fate,
 “ and remain’d cover’d.

“ WHEN he came out he would not suffer any to
 “ accompany him to the House where he had first
 “ lodged, where he found *Roderigo Marquez*, and *Se-*
 “ *bastian Figuera*, who at the first Sight of him were

ex-

“ extremely surpriz’d : They said he was much chang’d,
 “ but that they were positive he was the King, of which
 “ they advised his Cousin *Don Christopher*, who there-
 “ upon ordered he should be conducted to the Lodgings
 “ of *Don John de Castro*, which were in a more pri-
 “ vate Part of the City.

“ THERE he shew’d himself to all the *Portuguese*,
 “ observing to them, that his Person was very remark-
 “ able, his whole *Right Side* being bigger than his
 “ *Left*; he measured his Arms, his Legs, his Thighs,
 “ then kneeling down, he discover’d that his right
 “ Shoulder was higher than his left by three Inches, he
 “ shewed them the Scar of his right Eye-brow, and
 “ suffer’d all who desired to feel with their Fingers,
 “ a remarkable Cleft in his Skull. He then shewed
 “ them that he wanted a *Tooth* on the right Side of his
 “ lower Jaw, which he said had been drawn by *Seba-*
 “ *stian Nero* his Barber, all the rest of his Teeth being
 “ firm and strong. They would then have had him eat,
 “ but he refused so to do, because it was *Friday*. As
 “ those who were about him came from different
 “ Countries, some were Habited after the *Dutch*, some
 “ after the *Italian*, others after the *French* Fashion;
 “ one whose Name was *Francis Antonio*, was in the
 “ Garb of a *Pilgrim*, with a Staff in his Hand. *Se-*
 “ *bastian* standing by the Fire, after continuing a long
 “ Time silent, at last said with a Smile, *Tanto trage!*
 “ *What odd Fashions!* Upon which, some of the *Por-*
 “ *tuguese* Nobility, who had been to that Time silent,
 “ cry’d out, that from the Manner of his pronouncing
 “ those Words, they knew him to be the King. The
 “ *second* Night understanding that all the Passes into the
 D “ Country

“ Country of the *Grifons* were secured, he went over
 “ into the *Terra Firma* in the Habit of a *Monk*, but
 “ when he quitted *Padua*, he resumed his Cloak and
 “ Sword, took the Road to *Florence*, and was there ar-
 “ rested by Order of the *Grand Duke*.

“ THE King of *Spain* immediately demanded that
 “ he should be put into his Hands, which the *Grand*
 “ *Duke* refused to do, justifying himself by the Example
 “ of the *State of Venice*. However the Duke of *Savoy*
 “ preparing to invade his Dominions, he caused *Seba-*
 “ *stian* to be sent to *Orbitello*, and put into the Hands
 “ of the *Spaniards*. The Wits in *Italy* were mightily
 “ divided on this Accident, some commending the
 “ *Grand Duke* for discouraging an *Impostor*; others
 “ alledging, that it was a direct Breach of Faith. He
 “ who call'd himself King of *Portugal*, understood it
 “ in this Light, he reproached the *Grand Duke's* Of-
 “ ficers in the severest Terms, adding, when he was
 “ deliver'd to the *Spaniards*, that he did not doubt but
 “ God would punish the House of *Medicis* for their Per-
 “ fidy towards him.

“ AT *Naples* he was imprison'd in the Castle *del*
 “ *Ovo*, and as the *Portuguese* affirm, was lock'd up in a
 “ Chamber for *three* Days, without having any Suste-
 “ nance given him, or so much as seeing the Face of any
 “ Person; only a *Rope* and a *Knife* of half a Foot
 “ long were left in a Corner of the Room. *Sebastian*
 “ did not make Use of either of these Remedies, but
 “ bore with Patience and Resignation all the Injuries
 “ and Hardships which were put upon him. The
 “ *fourth* Day the *Auditor General*, accompanied by
 “ *two* Secretaries, made him a Visit: This Magistrate
 “ told

“ told the Prisoner in few Words, that provided he laid
 “ aside the Chimerical Stile he had hitherto assumed,
 “ he might have Meat, Drink, a convenient Lodging,
 “ and other Accomodations. *I cannot do that*, said he,
 “ *I am Don Sebastian King of Portugal, whose Sins*
 “ *have drawn upon him these severe Chastisements; I am*
 “ *content to die after what manner you please, but to deny*
 “ *the Truth, that I can never do.* After this he was
 “ allow’d Bread and Water for some Time, and then
 “ *five Crowns a Month, and a Servant to attend him.*

“ THE Conde de Lemos, at that Time Viceroy of
 “ Naples, being desirous to see him, he was conducted
 “ to the Palace, where ent’ring the Hall, and perceiving
 “ the Count bare-headed, which happened accidentally,
 “ on Account of the Heat of the Weather, he said in
 “ a grave and majestic Tone. *Conde de Lemos be co-*
 “ *ver’d.* The Spectators being astonish’d, the Count
 “ asked him with some Disdain, by what Authority he
 “ bid him be cover’d? *By an Authority*, replied the
 “ Prisoner, *to which my Birth entituled me. But why,*
 “ *Sir, do you pretend not to know me? I remember you*
 “ *very well; my Uncle Philip sent you twice to me into*
 “ *Portugal, where you had such and such private Confe-*
 “ *rences with me.* The Count, touch’d with this Dis-
 “ course, continu’d some Time silent; at last, he said to
 “ the Keeper who was with him, *Take him away, he*
 “ *is an Impostor.* No Sir, return’d he, *I am the un-*
 “ *fortunate King of Portugal, and you know it well.*
 “ *A Man of your Quality ought on all Occasions, either*
 “ *to be silent, or to speak the Truth.* While the Conde
 “ *de Lemos liv’d, except his Imprisonment, Sebastian*
 “ *endur’d no great Hardship; he was allow’d to live*

“ as he pleased, and was permitted to go to *Chapel*
 “ whenever he desir'd it. He fasted regularly *Friday's*
 “ and *Saturday's*, and during the whole *Lent* contented
 “ himself with *Herbs* and *Roots*, receiv'd the *Sacrament*,
 “ and went to Confession constantly.

“ *THE Conde de Lemos* was succeeded in his Go-
 “ vernment by his Son, who treated *Sebastian* with
 “ great Rigor. The Bishop of *Reggio* was sent to ex-
 “ orcise him, (the *Spanish* Ministry on Account of his
 “ Answers, affecting to believe he was a Magician)
 “ This Prelate having perform'd his Office with great
 “ Solemnity, the Prisoner drew a little *Crucifix* out of
 “ his Bosom: *Behold*, said he, *the Badge of my Pro-*
 “ *fession, the Standard of that Captain whom to the last*
 “ *Drop of my Blood I shall serve.* On the *first of April*
 “ 1602, he was carried from the Castle mounted upon
 “ an *Ass*, three Trumpets sounding before him, and a
 “ Herald proclaiming these Words, *His most Catholick*
 “ *Majesty hath commanded this Man to be led through*
 “ *the Streets of Naples with all Marks of Ignominy,*
 “ *and then to serve on Board the Gallies for Life, for*
 “ *giving himself out to be Don Sebastian King of Por-*
 “ *tugal, whereas he is a Calabrian.* The Trumpets
 “ sounded before and after Proclamation. When the
 “ Heralds spoke of his calling himself King, he cried
 “ out, *and so I am*; when he came to the Word *Ca-*
 “ *labrian*, the Prisoner cried out again, *that is false.*

“ AFTER this, he was put on Board the Gallies, and
 “ for a Day or two, chain'd to the Oar; but as soon
 “ as they were out of the Port, they restored him his
 “ own Cloaths, and treated him like a Gentleman. In
 “ the Month of *August* 1602, the Gallies came into
 Port

“ Port St. Lucar, where the Duke and Dutcheſs of
 “ *Medina Sidonia* deſired to ſee the Priſoner. When
 “ they had converſed together ſome Time; *Sebastian*
 “ asked the Duke if he had ſtill the Sword which he
 “ gave him? *I have*, reply’d the Duke cautiously, *a*
 “ *Sword given me by Don Sebastian, when he went to*
 “ *Africk, which I keep among other Swords preſented to*
 “ *me. Let them be brought*, ſaid the Priſoner, *I ſhall*
 “ *know the Sword I gave you.* A Servant being ſent
 “ upon this Occaſion, return’d preſently with a dozen.
 “ *Sebastian* having examin’d them, *one by one*, turn’d
 “ gravely to the Duke and ſaid, *Sir, my Sword is not*
 “ *here.* The Servant being remanded to bring the reſt,
 “ as ſoon as he came with them, *Sebastian* caught one
 “ out of his Hand, crying out, *This Sir, is the Sword*
 “ *I gave you.* When he came to be put on Board the
 “ Gallies, he ſaid to the Dutcheſs: *Madam, I have no-*
 “ *thing to give you now, when I went to Africk I gave*
 “ *you a Ring, if you will ſend for it I will tell you a*
 “ *Secret*; the Dutcheſs ſaid, it was true the King of
 “ *Portugal* had given her a Ring, and ordered it to be
 “ ſent for. When *Sebastian* ſaw it, *preſs it with your*
 “ *Fingers Madam*, ſaid he, *the Jewel may then be ta-*
 “ *ken out, and beneath it you will find my Cypher,*
 “ which proved true. The Duke and Dutcheſs ſhed
 “ Tears at his Departure. When he took his Leave
 “ he ſaid to the Dutcheſs, *Madam, the Negroe Slave*
 “ *who attends you, formerly waſhed my Linnen.* *Seba-*
 “ *ſtian* was after this imprifoned, yet treated with Le-
 “ nity till he died, which happen’d at four Years End,
 “ always perſiſting that he was in Truth what he
 “ gave himſelf out to be.”

MR. *de St. Dennis* was the first who spoke to me of the Necessity of acting upon settled Principles, and proposing some certain End to myself; a Thing easily apprehended by my Judgment, but hardly reconcileable to my Inclinations. I had left my Country young; had framed to myself no distinct Ideas, either of Civil or Ecclesiastical Polity; the Instructions I had receiv'd on one Hand, were hindered from making any great Impression by those given me on the other; the odd turn my Affairs had taken, had in a manner jostled out both; so that when I came into this *French* Gentleman's Family, my Mind was a kind of Blank, in which, except the first Principles of Morality and the Christian Religion, there was nothing written, or at least nothing which might not easily have been effaced. To him I stood indebted for most of those Maxims, which in succeeding Years preserv'd me from those Misfortunes which are too common to Wanderers, and which in Spight of that roving Temper, that I could never totally subdue, maintained me in a State of tolerable Tranquility in my own Breast, and hindered me from becoming offensive to others. He directed my Studies, inform'd me what Books were worth reading, and what would only burthen my Memory without informing my Understanding. From him I learn'd to place Religion in my Heart, and in my Actions, without suffering it to dwell too much upon my Lips; to preserve a respectful Behaviour towards the establish'd *Form of Religion*, and towards the *Clergy* in all Countries; to habituate myself to Acts of Charity, and to a Complacency for all sorts of Persons with whom I had Occasion to converse. Mr. *Fetherstone* instructed me as to the Methods
of

of remitting Money, and of travelling with Ease and Safety through *France* and *Italy*. After we had been at *Rouen* about six Weeks, he set out for *Paris*, and return'd a few Days after with the News of his Uncle's Death, which happened suddenly, the Day after he arriv'd, by which he became possessed of a little Fortune, which turned into ready Money, amounted to about 4000 *Livres*.

IN the *Spring* of the Year 1663, I receiv'd from my Uncle, Bills of *Exchange* for about 1000 *l.* with a Security on his Estate for the Remainder of my Fortune. I then determin'd to travel into *Italy*, not judging it proper to reside at *Paris*, on Account of the Influence of the *English* Court, and the Pains which I knew had been taken to apprehend such as had been for the *Parliament*, and had fled on that Account into *France*. We determin'd to set out in *April*, and in the mean Time, Mr. *de St. Dennis* carried me to most of the remarkable Places in *Normandy*, giving me proper Information as to the Antiquities, and other Particularities, whereby they were rendered remarkable.

THE Castle of *Ivetot*, with a pretty Lordship round it, lies at a small Distance from *Rouen*, it was at the Time that I saw it in the Hands of Mr. *de Bellay*, a Person of great Family, and who seldom resided there. This Manor or Lordship, is the Glory of the *Pais de Caux*, having been formerly a distinct Kingdom, and remaining to this Day a Principality, of which this is, as I was informed, an authentick Account. *Gautier de Ivetot* was Chamberlain to King *Clotaire*, and a Gentleman of great Courage, as well as wonderful Probity; Qualities which gained him the Love of his Sovereign,

and in Consequence thereof, the Hatred of his Courtiers, who devised so many Stories to his Prejudice, that the poor Man thought proper to retire from Court, and even to quit his native Country. Ten Years he travelled Abroad, and with equal Valour and Success, fought against the *Sarracens*. At length being desirous to return into *France*, he went to *Rome*, where he was receiv'd by Pope *Agapetus* with great Honours, and obtain'd Letters recommendatory to King *Clotaire*, which he presented him at *Amiens* on *Good-Friday*, as the King was at Chapel. At first the King did not remember him, but perceiving by the *Pope's* Letters who he was, he suddenly catch'd a Sword from one of his Guards, and kill'd the unfortunate Gentleman, who was on his Knees before him. The *Pope* so highly resented this Fact, that he immediately sent a *Legate* to inform the King, that he would put him and his whole Kingdom under an *Interdict*, if he did not give the Church Satisfaction for the Murder of *Gautier de Ivetot*. The King thereupon declared, that as he had violated the Bonds by which Princes and Subjects are united to each other, he was content to release the Descendants of *Gautier de Ivetot*, from all Homage, Fealty, or other Obligation, in respect of the Lands by him possessed at that Day, which he accordingly did by a solemn Act dated A. D. 553. Thus the Lordship of *Ivetot* was erected into a Kingdom ; but on the Extinction of the Family, the Title was reduc'd to that of a *Principality*.

THE *Pais de Caux* is one of the richest Districts of *Normandy*, tho' not very large, the Worth of this Territory may be guessed from the following short and pleasant Description.

Au

*Au noble pays de Caux,
Y a quatre Abbayes Royaux,
Six Prieurez conventaux,
Et fix Barons de grand arroy,
Quatres Comtes, trois Ducs, un Roy.*

The *English* of which is :

*In the fruitful Pays de Caux,
Royal Abbies there are four,
Six fair Priories also,
Of Baronies as many more :
Four Earls, three Dukes, from thence their Titles bring,
And what is greater still — Here dwells a KING.*

THE King hinted at in these Verses, is the King of *Ivetot* before-mention'd ; I shall not pretend to set down the Names of the other Places mention'd in the Verses. It is sufficient to say, that *Diepe, Havre de Grace, Harfleur*, and other remarkable Places are seated in this District. The Estates of the Inhabitants descend to the eldest Son entire, contrary to the Custom of *Normandy*, by which Lands descend in *Gavel-kind*.

OUR next Journey was towards the other Side of *Normandy*, viz. to *Caen*. It is certainly a very antient, and remains to this Day, a very beautiful and pleasant Place ; but to believe that it was built by an *Israelite*, called *Cademoth*, or that the famous *Cadmus* laid its first Stone, requires more Faith than an intelligent Man is usually Master of. Without troubling one's self farther, as to a Point not easily to be settled, let it suffice that it is
strong,

strong, populous, rich, and pleasant, watered by *two* fair Rivers, and seated but at a very small Distance from the Sea. Adorned with a University, and protected by a Castle, which, if its Fortifications answered its Situation, could not be easily taken. In this Castle there is a *Donjon*, or high square Tower; in antient Times the Mark of a *Barony*, or Lordship. In this City, amongst other stately religious Houses, stands an Abbey, dedicated to the *Holy Trinity*, which acknowledges for its Founder, *William the Conqueror*. In 1542, a Vault being opened in a Church of the said Abbey, there the Bodies of that *Prince*, and of his Wife *Matilda*, were found. This City is the Capital of lower *Normandy*, and the Head of a *Bailiwick*, which derives its Name from thence, and is of a very considerable Extent. Yet with all these Advantages, it is not a Bishoprick, but makes a Part of the Diocese of the Bishop of *Bayeux*.

THERE are many Monuments of the *English* Dominion in this, as indeed there are in most of the remarkable Places in *Normandy*, and many of the *Gentry* are of *Surnames* well known in *England*. This gives the Inhabitants a peculiar Affection for the Natives of our Island; but I cannot agree with some sanguine Travellers, that they are desirous of returning under our Dominion, the *French* in general being as loyal to their Princes, as most Nations in *Europe*.

At my Return to *Roan*, I expected to have found a Letter from my Uncle, in Answer to a long Epistle I had written him, as to my Intention of visiting *Italy*; but, to my great Surprise, no Letter was come, neither did I receive one in *three* Weeks; I was afraid of
writing

writing again, no Friend in *England* had my Address, it was dangerous to make any Enquiries at *Paris*; at length, growing very impatient, Mr. *Fetherstone*, tho' his Affairs were rather in a worse Situation than mine, I mean with Respect to the Government, offered to go to *England* to obtain some Satisfaction. I cannot tell, whether in Justice I ought to have exposed him to so great a Risque as he ran; but being a young Man, and as yet little acquainted with Disappointments, I readily accepted his Kindness, and we immediately concerted the Means for his Passage from *Calais* without Suspicion.

M. *de St. Dennis* had some Manuscripts relating to Chemistry, which he caused to be very fairly transcribed, bound in a Velvet Cover, and embossed with Gold, the whole so tinctured with a Solution of *Saffron*, that they appeared to have been written a long Time. These Manuscripts Mr. *Fetherstone* carry'd to *Paris*, and by the Means of an *English* Roman Catholick, whose Name was *Talbot*, got himself recommended to an Agent of the Duke of *Buckingham's*, who first endeavour'd to buy the Manuscripts; and finding that impracticable, procured Passes for my Friend under the Name of *Vincent le Blanc*, to go over into *England* with a certain sealed Packet directed to the Duke of *Buckingham*.

THIS Scheme succeeded perfectly well. Mr. *Fetherstone* came safe to *London*, took Lodgings in *St. Martin's-Lane*, and after three Weeks Negotiation with the Duke, sold him the Manuscripts for *sixty* Pounds. In this Time he learned that a *Plot* either real or pretended had been discovered, and my Uncle, on Account of some Remittances made to General *Ludlow*, had been apprehended and brought up to *London*, where tho' there was

no Foundation for this Suspicion, after nine Weeks close Imprisonment, he was at length not totally set at Liberty, but admitted to *Bail*. When he was by this means at Liberty as to his Person, Mr. *Fetherstone* saw him, and receiv'd from him Instructions for me not to write any more by the Method hitherto used; he likewise signified his Approbation of my going into *Italy*, and gave Mr. *Fetherstone* some Letters for *English* Gentlemen there. This Business being done, Mr. *Fetherstone* prepared for his Return, and upon Application to the Duke, easily procured such Licences as were necessary for his passing out of the Kingdom. The Day before he was to set out taking a walk in the Park, he was met and known by Lieutenant Colonel *Brown*, who had been an Officer in *Cromwell's* Guards; the Colonel pressed him to dine with him, which after some Difficulty Mr. *Fetherstone* consented to, and fixed on a House in *Old-Palace-Yard*, promising to be there exactly at *One o'Clock*. But when he had thus disengag'd himself for the present, he sent his Cloak-bag to an Inn in *Southwark*, and taking Post-Horses, made the utmost Dispatch to *Dover*, where embarking, in *three* hours time he pass'd to *Calais*, and from thence came the next Day to *Roan*.

W H E N after the first Compliments, he told me this Story, and I asked him how he came to fatigue himself so excessively, when there was no appearance of the Colonel's betraying him; he answered, That it was one of *Thurloe's* Maxims. *A Man should in nowise hazard his Safety for a Dinner, and a little idle Chat, which can never produce much Good, and may possibly issue in Ruin.* I was perfectly satisfied with his Conduct in this Journey, and on his Return began to prepare in earnest for my Passage

Passage into *Italy*, where I flattered my self I should be extremely delighted, though I knew not why or wherefore ; which I take to be a Circumstance no way peculiar to me, but common to most young Travellers, who seek Pleasure in every Thing but *Quiet*, which on this Side of the Grave is most capable of affording true Satisfaction.

A little before I set out M. *de St. Dennis*, receiv'd Advice from *Paris*, that a Person of Distinction to whom he was well known, was to go shortly to *Italy* on the King's Affairs. The good old Man laid hold of this favourable Opportunity to procure for me a very commodious Method of Travelling. For the better effecting of this he invited M. *de St. Paul*, a very ancient Gentleman, and Uncle to him in whose Train I was to go, to come to his House to Supper. This Gentleman, tho' he was little less than *four score*, had abundance of Life and Spirit, and told us many entertaining Stories, especially of the Court of *Henry IV.* in which he had liv'd four or five Years. I laid hold of this Opportunity to enquire into the Particulars of that Prince's Death. M. *de St. Paul* told me, that many things were remarked concerning it, which were truly extraordinary, of which he gave us a Multitude of Instances, the most remarkable were these.

ON *Thursday* the 13th of *May* 1610, being the Day of the Queen's Coronation, and the Day before the Murder of the King ; his Majesty in the Evening was speaking with great Marks of Tendernefs of the Queen, and of her Conduct, during the Ceremony ; *La Brosse*, an old Physician, discoursing with the Duke *de Vendome*, said, *If his Majesty out-lives a Mischief which threatens*
him

him at present, he will live these thirty Years. The Duke de Vendome immediately desired the King to hear what *La Brosse* had to say. *What is it?* said the King tartly. The Duke held his Peace, but the King commanding him to speak; he told him what *La Brosse* had just before said: *He is an old Fool for telling you such Things, and you are a young Fool* (said the King) *if you believe him.* Sire, returned the Duke, *One ought not to believe such Things, but one may fear them. All France is bound to take Care of your Majesty; and as for me, I am more bound thereto than any other. Let me beseech you to hear La Brosse.* Hold your Tongue, cried the King, *I will not hear him.* Well Sire, said the Duke of Vendome then, *I will carry him to the Duke.* If you do, said the King hastily, *I will never love you more.* He repeated these Words in so angry a Tone, that the Duke of Vendome desisted, and *La Brosse* was not heard.

THE same Day as the King was going with the Queen into his Cabinet, he stopp'd to speak to somebody, upon which the Queen stopp'd also, *Passer, passer, Madam la Regente, i. e. Go on, go on, Madam the Regent,* said the King. A few Days before his Death the Queen had two odd *Dreams*. She fancied that the Diamonds, Rubies, and other Jewels in her Crown, were changed into *Pearls*, and that she was told *Pearls* signified *Tears*. The Night after she started and cried out in her Sleep; the King waking, caught her in his Arms, and asked her what was the Matter. *I have had a frightful Dream,* said she, *but Dreams are Delusions.* *I have always thought so too,* said the King; *however tell me what it was.* With much Intreaty she proceeded. *I dreamt,* said she, *that you were stabb'd*
with

with a Knife under the short Ribs. Blessed be God, said the King, it was but a Dream, and so went to Sleep.

ON the Day the King was kill'd, he was observed to be very uneasy; nay, he observ'd it himself, and said several Times, that something sat heavy on his Heart. When he was going out he asked if the Coach was below. The Villain who kill'd him was at the Foot of the Stairs, and was heard to mutter. *I shall have you, you are lost.* He thrice took leave of the Queen before he went into the Coach. He then seemed to resume himself, he forbid the Guards to follow him out of the *Louvre*; sent the Captain to the *Palais*; the Lieutenant was sick; the Ensign was gone with a Message to the *President du Harlay*; so that the Coach was open on all Sides; his Attendance went through another Street; the *Rue de la Ferronneire* being very narrow, was encumber'd with *two* Waggon, one laden with Wine, the other with Corn, which obliged the King's Coach to stop. At that Instant the King threw back his Cloak, and put himself into such a Position, as left his Side wholly exposed to the *Assassin*, who said himself afterwards, that he thrust his Knife into the King's Body, as into a *Sack of Corn*.

It was remark'd, that in the Space of a Week the *French* saw two Kings interred, who both died by the *Knives* of *Assassins*; for but a few Days before his own Death, *Henry IV.* had caused his Predecessor to be solemnly interred. It is certain that in *Flanders* the King's Death was spoke of as soon as it happen'd, and the Queen's Jeweller receiv'd a Letter the next Day from one of his Correspondents, desiring that he would inform him whether the King was kill'd or no. *M. de St. Paul*
laid

laid great Stress on these *Omens*; and indeed I have heard others speak of them with Surprise; for my own part, I know not what to say; this I know, that many rash and ignorant People disregard and laugh at these Things, and that Men of great Wisdom and Learning speak of them with Diffidence, and strive rather to encourage others to flight them, than shew any real Contempt of them themselves.

By the Help of this Mr. *de St. Paul*, I was so effectually recommended to the Count *de Gassion*, that he readily consented to my going with him into *Italy*, and even did me the Honour of his Intimacy and Friendship. Mr. *Fetherstone* had engag'd in some Concerns of Trade, and therefore chose to remain at *Roan*. When all things were ready, my private Concerns settled, and my Debt, tho' not my Obligation to my kind Host M. *de St. Dennis* discharg'd, I set out with my Man *Johnson* for *Paris*.

THE City of *Roan* is as pleasant, populous, and well built as any in *France*. Ships of considerable Burden come up the River *Seine*, and lye close to the Key. The Bridge which rises and falls with the River, is venerable for its Antiquity, admirable for its Beauty, and valuable for its Conveniency. At *Roan* the Parliament of *Normandy* is fixed, it assembles in an elegant Building by far more beautiful and stately, as well as more neat and convenient than that at *Paris*, destin'd to the same Use. It is composed of *two* Presidents, *twenty* Counsellors, and as many Advocates as the Court thinks fit to admit. The *first* President takes Place of the Governor of the Province, unless in a Convention of the Estates, for there the Governor presides. The Archbishop of *Roan* is

is Primate of *Normandy*, and the first of his Predecessors was consecrated Archbishop during the general Council at *Arles* under *Constantine* the Great. The Revenue of the See may amount to *three thousand Pounds per Ann.* of our Money. Besides the Cathedral and Religious Houses there are in *Roan* *thirty-two* Parish-Churches. The Metropolitan Church is dedicated to *our Lady*, and is remarkable for its having three fine Towers. One of these, because it was built with the Money arising from the Sale of Dispensations to eat *Butter* in *Lent*, is called *La Tour de Beurre*, or the *Butter Tower*. In the Tower over the Porch hangs the great Bell so much talk'd of, call'd from him who placed it there, *George Amboise*. It is about *thirteen* Foot high, *eleven* in Diameter, and weighs, as the old *French* Verses upon it tell us, *Forty Thousand Pounds*.

THE principal Abbey is dedicated to St. *Owen*, of whom I am almost ashamed to tell a Story that is however universally received here. They say there was a great Dragon in the Neighbourhood which did prodigious Mischief, and which became at last so formidable, that the People began to quit their Houses, and to leave the Country desolate. *Romanus* was then Archbishop of *Roan*, who commiserating the Distress of his Flock, resolved to go in Quest of this Dragon. Before he set out he chose for his Companions, a *Thief* and a *Murderer*, who were at that time in Prison. When he drew near the *Dragon's* Den, and that dreadful Creature came hissing towards him, the *Thief* took to his Heels, but the *Murderer* stuck fast by the Archbishop, who when he had offered up his Prayers to *God*, took off his *Stole*, and advancing directly to the *Dragon*, put it about his Neck,

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and

and delivered him, thus made Prisoner, to the *Murderer*, who carried the Creature in Triumph to the *City*, where it was first strangled, and then burnt to Ashes. This Exploit is said to have been performed on *Holy Thursday*, in what Year I cannot pretend to say. Thus much is certain, that St. *Owen*, who succeeded St. *Romanus*, certified this Fact to King *Dagobert*, about the Year of Christ 635, and obtained from him a perpetual Edict, whereby the *Canons* of the *Cathedral Church* are vested with a Power of delivering on every *Ascension-Day*, any Criminal appointed to suffer Death. But the *Criminal* must give Security to assist either himself, or by *Proxy*, at the annual Procession in Memory of this *Miracle* for *seven Years*.

NORMANDY, divided into the *higher* and *lower*, is one of the most considerable Provinces in *France*, as well in Regard to its Fertility, as Extent, and always made a very distinguished Figure in the World. It was formerly reckon'd a Part of *Neustria*, or the Kingdom of *Soissons*, but in the ninth Century it chang'd its Name and its Masters, being yielded by *Charles* the Simple to the *Normans*, whereupon *Rollo* their Prince call'd it *Normandy*, and stiled himself *Duke* thereof. The Descendant and Successor of this Prince, *William* the Conqueror, annexed it to *England*. When *John*, the Grandson of that Prince mounted the Throne, he seized this Dutchy as well as he had done the Kingdom, in Prejudice to his Nephew *Arthur*, who in a short time after was murdered, with Circumstances strongly insinuating the Connivance at least, if not the Direction of his *Uncle*. Upon this King *John*, as a *Peer* of *France*, was summoned to answer before the *Parliament* of *Paris*,
where

where by neglecting to appear, either by himself or Proxy, he was by *Arret* of *Parliament* declared Convict, and his Lands forfeited. Whereupon *Philip Augustus*, King of *France*, did in the Year 1202, seize the said *Dutchy* into his Hands.

It was afterwards however recovered by the *English*, and finally taken from them by *Charles VII.* and inseparably annexed to the Crown by *Lewis XI.* *Lewis XII.* fixed the *Parliament* at *Roan*, and succeeding Kings have honour'd it with other Favours. The *Normans* however do not forget that they were once a free and independent People, but have so vigorously insisted on their Privileges at all Times, that they have hitherto conserved most of them, particularly that of being governed by their own Laws, and being exempted from a great many Taxes. In other Respects the *Normans* are very good Subjects, and as they are an industrious trading People furnish to the Royal Revenue very large Sums. Wine is wanting to this Province, but the Deficiency is tolerably well supplied by a great Quantity of good *Cyder*, which is the common Drink of the Natives, and much more than compensated by the abundance of fine Wheat, which is the Glory of this Country, and which is produced with half the Cultivation necessary in our own. The People are strong, hardy, and industrious, fairer, and more fresh-colour'd than in other Parts of *France*, and less subject to the Gout and Stone, than the Inhabitants of those Provinces which abound in Vineyards, and are consequently well stored with Wine. Their great Vice is Litigiousness; and in Truth they need not have a worse, since it is the Parent of Fraud, Malice, and ill Neighbourhood.

DURING the Stay I made at *Paris*, I lodg'd at the House of Mr. *D'Aulnoy*; he was himself a Man of good Sense, great Worth, and much Learning; his Lady the most agreeable Woman in the World, and held to write the best Stile in *France* of any of her Sex, after *Madam de Scudery*. I remain'd at this Gentleman's House but three Weeks, and in that small Space I was sensible that I improv'd my self very much in the *French* Language. At my setting out for *Italy* I carry'd with me a hundred Pistoles and Bills for three hundred more on Mr. *Hobson* at *Venice*. The same Sum I deposited in the Hands of a Banker at *Paris*, having also some Money in the Hands of M. *de St. Dennis* at *Roan*. My Design was first to visit the principal Places in *Italy*, and then to return into *France*, that from thence, if the Times in respect to my Affairs were mended, I might pass over into *England*.

WE left *Paris* in the Month of *March*, in order to go to *Nevers*. The Count, and two other Gentlemen, were in one Coach, his Secretary M. *de St. Florentin*, my self and two others of his Attendants in a second Coach, and he had *nine* Domesticks besides. We were *eleven* Days complete in reaching *Nevers*, which is accounted *fifty-eight* Leagues from *Paris*. We rested there *three* Days by reason of the Count's using some Waters in its Neighbourhood, which gave me an Opportunity of viewing the Place.

IT is an ancient and no very large City, though a Bishoprick, and the Capital of a Dutchy, and of the Territory call'd *Nivernois*. The *Ducal* Palace is a very fine Structure, and was richly furnished, but the most remarkable Rarity in it is a curious Marble Table, not
very

very large, but finely vein'd, and which is indeed surprising, perfectly transparent, either by Night or Day, for a Lamp being placed behind, may be distinctly seen through it. *Nevers* is likewise adorned with an ancient Cathedral dedicated to *St. Cyr*. There is also a Bridge over the *Loire*, which is very remarkable, consisting of no less than twenty Arches. *Nevers* was a County or Earldom under the first *French* Kings, was first erected into a Dutchy by *Charles VII*. It passed afterwards into various noble Families, 'till at length it descended to the House of *Gonzaga*, from whom a little while ago the Cardinal Minister acquir'd it not with much Reputation, and hath procur'd it to be erected into a Dutchy and Peerdom in favour of his Nephew *Philip Mancini Mazzarine*, a young Man who continues as yet unmarried.

FROM *Nevers* we proceeded in five Days to *Lyons*, which lies at the Distance of *forty-five* Leagues. This is beyond Comparison the pleasantest City in *France*, perhaps I should not err if I said in *Europe*. It differs from all the Places I ever beheld, inasmuch as it is agreeable to every Taste, having within its Walls all Things that can delight the Eye, or please the Imagination. Part of the City stands high, Part low. You may live on the Side of a River, or out of Sight of Water. Some of its Streets have all the Hurry of Business, others have magnificent Houses, and at very reasonable Prices, so situated as to have the Air of a magnificent Metropolis. And in the Skirts of this agreeable Place you may enjoy a rural Habitation, surrounded with Fields, Gardens, Vineyards, and yet at no great Distance from the Heart of the City; surrounded as it is with Hills, it is continually warm, and as those Hills are extremely well

cultivated, they afford the finest Prospect that can be imagined.

THE *Saone* passes through the City; the *Rhofne* washes its Walls; the Stone Bridge over the former consists of nine Arches, and is remarkable for the Cruelty exercised thereon by *Caligula*, who caused all such as disputed before him and did not prevail, to be thrown from thence into the River and drowned, as *Juvenal* informs us. The Bridge over the *Rhofne* is by far more remarkable; indeed there are few which can be compared with it, considering the Breadth and Rapidity of the River. It consists of twenty-six Arches, nineteen large, and seven small ones. The Beauty and Pleasantness of *Lyons*, though they are certainly very great, are not however its principal Advantages. Its Commodiousness for Trade deserves particular Attention. The *Rhofne* affords an easy Passage to the Sea, and consequently opens a Gate to the *Mediterranean* Commerce, to that of *Africk* and the *Levant*. Twelve Leagues of Land-Carriage sends all Sorts of Merchandize to the *Loire*, whereby a Communication is acquired, not only with the most distant Provinces of *France*, *Holland*, and *Flanders*, but also with *Britain* and the North. From *Montangis* Boats go through a little River into the *Seine*, and so to *Paris*. By this means *Lyons* is the Centre of a prodigious Trade, continually filled with Foreigners, and inhabited by abundance of Artificers, and Mechanics of all Sorts. They have here four free Fairs every Year, one, which may be called the first, at *Twelfth-tide*, the second at *Easter*, the third in *August*, and the last on the Day dedicated to the Memory of *All-Saints*. One principal Commodity at these Fairs is *Books*, the
Number

Number of which, without seeing them, it is impossible to have any Conception of.

THE Privileges bestow'd on this City for the maintaining and encreasing these Advantages are great; and which is yet of more Consequence, well adapted. The Business of Exchange is wholly in the Hands of the *Florentines*, who are perfectly well skill'd in that mysterious Branch of Traffick. The *Germans* have great Immunities, particularly this, that no Causes in which they are Parties can be drawn out of their own Courts, whether their Nature be civil or criminal. The Government of *Lyons* is by a *Prevost des Marchands*, and four *Eschevins*, the latter chosen annually, the first once in two Years: When the *Eschevins* go out of Office, they are ennobled of course. All Causes are decided here very speedily, and at a small Expence, which is done in favour of Trade, and hath a mighty good Effect. The Town-house is a very elegant Fabrick, having before it a large square Piazza with a noble Fountain; here all the City Courts are kept, and the publick Business transacted.

THE Cathedral, dedicated to St. *John*, is a large venerable Pile, remarkable chiefly for its Clock, placed in a stately Tower, on the Top of which stands a Cock, which every Hour claps his Wings and crows twice; then an Angel comes out at a Door, which opens of it self, and salutes the Virgin *Mary*; at the same Time the Holy Ghost appears in the Form of a Dove; then a Figure, representing the Eternal Father, blesses her three Times. The Days of the Week are represented by seven Figures, each of which takes place in a Niche in the Morning of the Day it represents, and continues

there 'till the next Morning. But the greatest Singularity was newly put up, *viz.* an oval Plate marked with the Minutes of an Hour, which were exactly pointed to by a Hand reaching the Circumference, and which in its Revolution insensibly dilates and contracts it self; the Difference of the Transverse, and conjugate Diameters being *ten* Inches, half of which consequently is the greatest Extension of this Hand.

It appears by an Inscription on the Clock it self, that it was repaired and improved by *William Nourison*, *Anno Dom.* 1661. but it was contrived long before his Time by *Nicholas Lipp*, a Native of *Basil*. The Report goes, that the Magistrates of *Lyons*, after he had finished this curious Machine, caused his Eyes to be put out, that he might never be able to perform the like; but this is an absolute Falshood, invented by the Mob to magnify their Clock. As to *Lipp*, the Magistrates engaged him to fix at *Lyons*, by allowing him a very considerable *Salary* to look after his own Machine, which he is said to have perfected at the Age of *Thirty*, or of *Thirty-two*, and in the Year 1598.

M. *SERVIER*, who invented the Minute-Motion, I have described lived at this Time in great Reputation at *Lyons*. He was in his younger Years an *Officer* in the Army, but all of a sudden quitted the Life of a Soldier and came to *Lyons*, where he gave himself up wholly to the Study of the Mechanicks. The common People believed him a second *Solomon*, and Persons of the best Sense admitted he had wonderful Abilities. As I was still a very young Man, I had not the Confidence to apply to him for a Sight of his Curiosities, because I heard he was an odd-temper'd Man, and not over-complaisant to Foreigners, unless they were Persons of very great Distinction.

I TOOK Care however to find out a Person who had formerly liv'd with him, and who gave me an exact Detail of all his Rarities, the most remarkable of which were these, 1. A flat Ruler lying on a Plane like one of our Cribbage Boards, mark'd with Hours, half Hours, and Quarters. The Hour of the Day or Night distinguished thereon by the Paw of a Mouse creeping forward, and returning backwards of its self. 2. A perpendicular Ruler mark'd in the same manner, the Time pointed out by a Lizard, ascending and descending. 3. A brazen Vessel with the Hours on the Sides, this being fill'd with Water, an artificial Tortoise is put into it by any Spectator, which after turning several Times, points the exact Time of the Day. 4. Two Dials at a Distance from each other, yet the Hand of one being moved to any Hour, the Hand of the other was instantly moved to the same Hour of itself. 5. A perpetual Hour Glass, which not only turns itself, but also changes in turning a brass Figure on its Top, shewing the Hour of the Day or Night. Most of these extraordinary Machines are thought to depend chiefly upon *Magnets* or *Load-stones*, properly disposed. I should not have mentioned them if I had not been persuaded, as well of the Possibility of such Performances, as of the Veracity of him who inform'd me.

AFTER eight Days Stay at *Lyons*, we set out for *Geneva*, where we arriv'd in three Days, having passed through a very indifferent Country, and seen in that Space the Territories of three independant States exclusive of *France*, viz. of the Duke of *Savoy*, the *Canton* of *Berne*, and Republick of *Geneva*.

ON my Arrival at *Geneva*, I met with Letters from Mr. *Fetherstone*, Mr. *St. Dennis*, and my Uncle, all advising me to stay for some Time in that City, which of my self I was inclined to do, in Order to learn the *Italian* Language, to revive my Acquaintance with ancient Authors, and to acquire some Knowledge of the Mathematics. It was no difficult Matter to settle here to my Contentment, the Inhabitants of *Geneva*, having a great Regard for the *English*, on Account of their constant Correspondence with them since the Retreat of the Exiles thither, in the Reign of *Philip* and *Mary*. Besides Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, and some other Persons of Distinction, having resided there lately, and my Letters being addressed to one of their Friends, I was presently settled in a Lodging, boarded in the same House, and recommended to the Professors of the several Sciences I intended to study, during my Stay there.

AT this Time the War broke out between *England* and *Holland*, usually call'd the first *Dutch* War. It appeared plainly enough, that the *Genevese* were more addicted to the *Dutch*, than to us, which I conceive to be owing to two Causes, their being under a Republican Government, and the *Dutch* having always shewn a warm Affection for the People of *Geneva*, especially testified by a new Bastion towards the *Rhosne*, the whole Expence of which was defray'd by the *States*.

THE City of *Geneva* is as pleasantly situated as its Inhabitants can wish, surrounded by Mountains, which defend it from the *East* and *West* Winds, and by which as they have many openings on the *North* and *South*, the Inhabitants are prevented from being incommoded with a thick and moist Air. It is divided into two Parts
by

by the *Rhofne*, that Portion which is on the other Side the River, is call'd the *Burgh* of *St. Gervase*. There is a fine Bridge over the River; and on the Sides thereof, the most wholesome, as well as most agreeable Walks. The common Opinion is, that there is in this City between thirty and forty Thousand Inhabitants, and consequently about six Thousand capable of bearing Arms; but those who have examined Things more closely, think there are not quite so many. In Point of Extent, it is not held to be above a third Part as large as the City of *Lyons*.

THERE is no Place in the World better served with Provisions than this; they have good Wine, and cheap, excellent wild Fowl, and incomparable Fish; particularly *Trout*, which many believe to be better, and larger, than are to be had in any other Part of *Europe*; whereas some affirm, there are larger in *Germany*: Certain it is, that the *Trouts* of *Geneva* weigh sometimes fifty Pounds, which are taken out of a kind of Weirs, placed in the River. The chief Church is that of *St. Peter's*, remarkable for two very large Bells, the largest requiring ten Men to Toll it; in the Steeple of this Church there is a Watch set every Night, who in Case of any Danger, alarm the Citizens, either by ringing a Bell, or discharging a Piece of Cannon, two small ones being placed on the Steeple for that Purpose. At each Gate of the City there is a Guard, and when it is set at Night, one of the Soldiers says Prayers. Besides these Guards, which are composed of the Garrison Troops, there are several Guards in the City of *Burghers*, neither are such Precautions taken without good Reason, since they are in the midst of Enemies; and
so

so lately as 1602, in the Night of the 12th of *December*, the Duke of *Savoy* attempted to take the Place by *Scalade*, which he had infallibly done, if the *Savoyard*, who was to have fired the *Petard*, had not been kill'd in attempting to perform it. In the *Arsenal* they have Arms in constant readiness, for about five Thousand Men, with eight Pieces of Cannon, and all necessary Ammunition. The scaling Ladders taken from the Duke of *Savoy's* Soldiers, with other Trophies of their Success on that Occasion, particularly the Arms of thirteen Men of Quality, who were taken and hanged, together with the *Petard* before-mention'd, yet undischarged, are shewn in the same Place.

THE established Religion of the State is *Calvinism*. The publick Worship in their Churches is very decent and regular; the Ministers pray either according to their own manner, or according to a certain Form which has been approv'd, tho' not imposed. In their Prayers they always mention the *French King*, the King of *England*, the Cantons of *Zurich* and *Berne*, the Protestant Princes in *Germany*, his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, and the *States*. Every Day in the Week there is a Sermon at Seven in the Morning, except *Thursdays* and *Sundays*, when there are two, one at five, and the other at eight. The Ministers are very zealous, and sometimes inveigh bitterly against the Corruptions of the Age in which they live. Amongst these they reckon Mufick, Dancing, Shooting, and other Recreations, to which the young People constantly repair every *Sunday* in the Afternoon; but it does not appear, that they have as great an Influence in this as in other Things; for tho' the Ministers have long preached, yet the

the People continue to Dance in Spight of all that can be said to them.

FOREIGNERS have Monuments erected for them in the Churches of *Geneva*; amongst others, in the Church of St. *Peter*, there is one for *Henry II. Duke of Rohan*, which is very magnificent. In an old Cloister hard by, there is the Tomb of M. *de Aubigny*, of Sir *Roger Townshend*, who died in 1647, and Sir *William Mafsham*, Bart. who died A. D. 1662. But as for the *Genevese* themselves, they have no Monuments. The Grave of the great *Calvin*, having nothing to distinguish it from that of another Man. If any *Italian* Family embraces the Protestant Religion, they are readily received, and willingly accepted as Citizens of *Geneva*; nay, there are some of their Pastors who have been *Papish* Priests and Jesuits, of whom it is observed, that they are remarkably zealous in their Sermons, and speak with greater Vehemence against the Corruptions of the Romish Church, than any of their Brethren.

THE Clergy here are far from having as large Salaries as in other Places, and yet they labour almost beyond Measure; besides daily Sermons, and Catechizings, other publick Exercises are expected from them, and if a Man hath not a real Call, and consequently an unfeigned Affection to the Ministry, he must under this Character live but unhappily in *Geneva*, where not only the least Irregularity, but even a Suspicion of Luke-warmness, or Uneasiness, would infallibly destroy him.

My Stay at *Geneva*, tho' it wanted but little of Ten whole Years, was perfectly easy and pleasant to me. At first the extraordinary Gravity of the People gave me some Disquiet; but by Degrees I began to consider
it

it in quite another Light, and to perceive that what seemed an unnecessary and burthensom Austerity, was in Truth no more than the Effect of a serious Disposition, and a just Sense of the Duty incumbent on us in this Life, to act prudently and justly. This composedness of Mind is only to be understood of the learned and better Sort of People, of whom, comparatively speaking, there are more here than in most other Cities; for as to the Commonalty, they differ little from those in *Savoy* or *France*. The generality of the *Genevese* use in common Conversation the *Savoyard* Dialect, but all Persons of Distinction speak good *French*. Among the *Italian* Families that Language is spoken; and there are many of these settled in *Geneva*, very considerable, on Account of their Antiquity and Fortunes: Such as the *Butini*, the *Cornelli*, *Diodati*, *Minutoli*, *Pelissari*, &c.

IMPROVED by the wise Discourses I daily heard, and encouraged by the Examples continually before my Eyes, I prosecuted my Studies with much Application, and began to form to myself a Resolution of leading a more regular and settled Life, than hitherto I had done. The Folly of rambling about the World, to gratify a Desire of seeing new Things, and hearing new Stories, appeared to me at this Time in so glaring a Light, that I can scarce Account for my relapsing so suddenly into that Passion for Novelty, which I had so justly discarded and despised. It may be that with Respect to his Manners, Man himself is a *Cameleon*, and having nothing permanent in his own Nature, easily receives from others, that Colour with which Custom hath stained them, and as easily loses it when he changes Climate to receive another Tincture from the same Cause.

IN the Month of *August* 1664, we had an Account at *Geneva* of the Murder of Mr. *Lisle* at *Lausanne*, it happened thus: That Gentleman had been one of the King's Judges, and even an Assistant to Serjeant *Bradshaw*, who was President of the Assembly then called the *High Court of Justice*. He had withdrawn himself from his Countrymen, who lived in the Territory of the *Canton* of *Berne*, to the Place where he was murdered, on a Supposition, that those Assassins which had for some Time hovered on the Confines of *Switzerland*, were employed to dispatch General *Ludlow*, not having any Apprehension that his own Death was sought; tho' no Man had been either deeper in the Measures against the King, or had expressed himself with greater Warmth against the *Royal Family*.

THE *Wednesday* preceding the *Sunday* on which he was kill'd, two Men pretending to be the Grooms of a *German* Officer of Distinction, came to the Town where General *Ludlow*, Mr. *Broughton*, and the rest of the *English* resided; but the Regency of *Berne* being entirely in their Interest, the Assassins thought fit to decamp, and to make the best of their Way to *Lausanne*. There they waited for an Opportunity of destroying Mr. *Lisle*, which they effected thus: They were informed that it was this Gentleman's Custom to go to the Church which stood near the Town Gate; one of the Assassins thereupon, fixed himself early at the Church Gate, and having waited 'till all the People were gone in, he mutter'd to himself, *Le Bougre ne viendras pas, the Rascal don't come*. He then went to a Barber's, pretending to have the Tooth-ach, but turning his Head towards the Window, he saw Mr. *Lisle* had passed him,

him, and was in the Church-yard alone ; upon which he ran after him, pull'd out his Carbine, which was slung under his great Coat, and being close to the unhappy Victim, shot him through the Back ; the Piece recoiling he fell down himself, but getting up hastily, pull'd off his Hat, and swinging it round his Head cry'd, *God save the King.*

HE left his Gun behind him, and made the best of his Way to his Companion, who waited hard by on Horseback, with another Horse ready bridled and saddled in his Hand. On this the Assassin mounted, and they both rode off without Molestation. It was reported that the Government of *Lausanne* were not very industrious in their Endeavours to seize these Murderers ; but whoever is acquainted with *Switzerland*, must know that before the *Regency* could be well appriz'd of the Fact, Men so well mounted might be out of Reach, and it is certain, that not contented with having kill'd Mr. *Lisle*, they actually insulted and abused the *Regency* of *Lausanne*, as they rode through the Country.

IT was commonly reported, that these Men were commissioned from the *English* Court, to go and take off its Enemies in all Parts of the World, that in consequence of this Commission, one of them had actually murder'd, or at least desperately wounded one Mr. *Ker* in *Holland*, who had betray'd some of the King's Secrets, and had attempted to shoot Col. *Algernon Sydney*, on the Road to *Paris*. But People of moderate Sentiments, conceived that they were encouraged only by Queen *Henrietta Maria*, and her Daughter the Dutchess of *Orleans*. This was the rather believ'd, because it was certainly known, that the very Man who kill'd Mr. *Lisle* on his Return to *England* was forbid the Court,

Court, and died shortly after through Want and Despair.

THE other was advanced to a military Command, but it was in the *French* Service, and had Money given him, but not by the *English* Court. For this Cause the *English* Gentlemen who were Refugees in *Switzerland*, spoke with some Degree of Triumph, when in a short Space after the *Queen* died oddly at *Paris*, that is, by a Prescription of one of her Physicians. It was said she had a Cold, and that a gentle opiat was ordered her, but either the Drug or the Dose was mistaken, for she never awaken'd after taking it. The Wits at *Paris* did not fail to give their Sentiments on so extraordinary an Accident. Amongst the several Pieces written upon this Occasion the following Verses were held to be by far the most poignant; and as they are exactly to my Subject, I have transcribed them.

*Le croirez-vous race future ;
Que la Fille du grand Henry
Eut en mourant meme avanture
Que feu son Pere et son Mary ?
Tous trois sont morts par assassin,
Ravaillac, Cromvel, Medecin :
Henry d'un coup de Bayonette,
Charles finit sur un Billot,
Et maintenant meurt Henriette
Par l'Ignorance de Valot.*

The coming Age will it believe,
Great *Henry's* Daughter could receive .
Her End, in the same fatal Way,
Her Sire, and Spouse, did Death obey ?

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Will

Will not its utmost Faith be try'd,
 When it is told they all *three* dy'd,
 By base *Assassins*? ——— *Ravaillac*,
 The cruel *Cromwell*, and a Quack.
 Fatal to mighty *Henry's* Life,
 The bloody Villain's treach'rous *Knife*.
Charles on a Block resign'd his Breath,
 * *Valot* to *Henriet* gave Death.

BUT to pass from these melancholy Subjects, and to return to my own Affairs, and the natural Order of time, which tho' distant some few Years, I have, for the Sake of Perspicuity, brought all together.

WHILE I remain'd in this City I frequently spent my Evenings with Mr. *Say* and Mr. *Melville*, the former a vehement Commonwealth's Man, the latter strictly attached to the Royal Cause, but Men who loved each other; and though they generally differ'd in their Opinions, yet never grew angry, or transgressed in their Expressions the Bounds of Decency. I shall mention one of their Conversations for the Sake of a Fact not generally known. Mr. *Say* would frequently maintain that the War made by King *Charles* against the *Dutch* was ungrateful, because of the Assistance he had received, and the Kindness that had been shewn him from the *States*. He urged also, that it had been carried on unfairly on account of some secret Correspondence which his Majesty had kept up with Admiral *Trump*, and several other eminent Persons in the Interest of the Prince of *Orange*, which had been discover'd by a Spy putting into the Hand of the *Pensioner de Wit*, a Letter from

* *The Name of the Queen's Physician.*

one of the King's *Ministers* instead of a Petition from himself, for which Mistake he paid with his Life, and Admiral *Trump*, and other Persons of Distinction, were removed from their Places.

MR. *Melville* observed that this War was entirely owing to the *Dutch* themselves ; that in the War they carried on against the *Commonwealth* of *England*, they fought their own Cause, not the King's ; that the Letter which occasion'd the Death of *Buat*, concerned solely the Interest of the *Prince* of *Orange*, whose Advantage, the King was bound in Honour, Duty, and Interest, to promote. On the other hand, he alledged that the *Dutch* had encourag'd all that in them lay the Malecontents in *England*, to take up Arms, had actually concerted Measures for supporting a Rebellion in *England*, by an Invasion, and to that End had strongly solicited Lieutenant General *Ludlow*, Colonel *Algernoon Sidney*, and others, to come into *Holland*, in order to pass into *England* with a great Body of Foot.

MR. *Say* reply'd, that the Rules of War permitted all this, and that his Most *Christian Majesty* had as strongly solicited General *Ludlow*, as the *States*, and even sent him a Passport that he might come safe to *Paris*. For my Part, these Facts made it clear to me, that *Princes* and *States* prefer their present Interests to all Things. In my Passage through *France* I had seen *Oliver St. John*, who had been Lord Chief Justice of the *Common Pleas* in the Time of the *Commonwealth*, and of *Cromwell*, treated with great Respect, though under the Name of Mr. *Mountague*, while meaner People durst not shew their Heads, least the *English* Minister should demand them ; in which Case they

would certainly have been delivered up. I have already taken Notice of the Terror that Cardinal *de Mazarin* was under with Respect to *Cromwell*. It seems from the following Instance, that either that, or a high Veneration for him, remained not only with the Cardinal, but his Successors in the Ministry after *Cromwell's* Death.

DURING his Protectorship, there happen'd a great Tumult at *Nismes*; the Papists had attempted to take from the Protestants the Right of chosing *Magistrates*, which the latter, rather than submit to, opposed Force to Force, and actually drove the Papists out of the City, not without the Effusion of Blood. Upon this the *Cardinal Minister* caused great Bodies of Troops to march on all Sides towards the City. The Inhabitants perceiving that it would be impossible to defend the Place, began to consult about their own Safety. At length they resolved to send Dr. *Mullins*, a Scotchman, to the *Protector*, to intreat his Interposition.

OLIVER immediately gave Directions to his Secretary to write in the most pressing Terms on their Behalf to the *Cardinal*, and sent this Letter, with a Postscript, in his own Hand, which he added, to shew that he was really concern'd as to the Issue of the Business, by Dr. *Mullins*. The Doctor, like a faithful Agent, scarce took Rest or Refreshment 'till he came to *Lockart*, who was *Cromwell's* Minister at the Court of *France*. *Lockart* instantly carried him and the Letters he brought to the Cardinal, who on opening the Epistle address'd to himself, found the Postscript in these Words: *As you treat these Protestants, you have me a Friend, or an Enemy*. Upon which the Cardinal dispatched Orders for the Troops which were marching towards *Nismes* to halt,

halt, and consented that the Affair should be amicably made up.

IT happened that this Dr. *Mullins* was in *France* while I was at *Geneva*, and the Ministry being apprehensive that if he returned into *England*, he might give a very disadvantageous Account of the State of Affairs in *Languedoc*, where the Protestants were generally disaffected, they clapp'd him up in the *Bastile*. A short Time after they offer'd him his Liberty upon Security given that he would not leave *France*, which he alledg'd was utterly out of his Power. At length they discharg'd him without any Security, only they order'd him to quit the Kingdom in a Fortnight. Mr. *Melville* was well acquainted with this Gentleman and his Transactions: He was, it seems, a Man of great Intrepidity, and consequently a fit Engine for *Cromwell*.

FROM these Gentlemen Mr. *Say* and Mr. *Melville*, I had it confirmed to me, what Mr. *Fetherstone* had often told me, that the *Protector* had the Confidence of the *English* Roman Catholics, no less than that of the *French Hugonots*. He persuaded these People, I mean the *English Roman Catholics*, that only under his Government they could be safe; that if the *Commonwealth* was restored, they would be expos'd to perpetual Harassments, if not to a general Banishment, and Confiscation of their Estates. As for his Part, he declared he hated no Man on the Score of his Religious Principles, but on the contrary, would defend all who lived quietly and peaceably under him.

HE afterwards made Choice of one Sir *Robert Talbot* for his Agent, a moderate *Papist*, a Man who loved Peace and Quiet, and who thought it became People to

submit to the Powers in Being. This Man accepted a Commission to go to the Court of *Rome*, whither accordingly he went, and by the Help of *Donna Olimpia*, insinuated himself into the good Graces of his Holiness, whom he informed that *Cromwell* was quite another Man than he had been represented; that he was far from desiring to oppress, or hurt the *Catholicks*; that he had no violent Aversion to the *Popish Religion*; and that he was so far from having any Intention, as had been reported, to attack the *Pope*, by sending a Fleet on his Coasts; that he was desirous of living upon good Terms with his *Holiness*, and of doing him good Offices in all the Courts of *Christendom*.

At Home he engaged Sir *Richard Willis*, to give him exact Intelligence of all that passed in the Council settled by the King, consisting of the Earl of *Oxford*, Lord *Mordaunt*, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, and *nine or ten* more, on a Promise that their Lives and Fortunes should remain untouched, which was however not over-well complied with. Sir *Henry Slingsby*, and Dr. *Hewet*, who were of that Number, being executed in consequence of certain Distinctions which the *Protector* knew very well how to make, especially, considering that Sir *Richard* could not so much as expostulate with him. Such were the Arts of this Man, who from a private Condition, advanced himself to the Sovereignty in his own Country, and made himself as much considered throughout all the rest of *Europe*, as any other Sovereign in it.

When a little Relaxation from Study was necessary, and the fine Weather invited, I used to make Excursions either into *Savoy*, or into the Territories of the neighbouring

bouring Cantons, especially those of *Berne* and *Zurich*. In the former a very exemplary Piece of Justice was done on one *Duprè*, a *Savoyard*, who had attempted more than once to murder General *Ludlow*, and Mr. *Broughton* at *Vevais*, as some of his Companions had done Mr. *Lisle* at *Lausanne*. This Man was descended of a good Family, and had received a liberal Education; he had served as a Soldier with some Reputation, but was most abandoned in his Morals, dissolute in his Disposition, void of all Principles, without Pretence to Religion, a Gamester, Drunkard, and Bully.

ONE of his first Exploits was carrying off a young Woman who was Heiress of some Lands in the Territory of *Berne*, whom he married by Force. He next engaged himself with those People who came from *France* to destroy the *Regicides* in *Switzerland*, from whom he received considerable Sums of Money on Account of his exact Knowledge of the Country, and his great Adroitness in extricating himself and his Companions, when it appeared that their Expeditions had miscarried.

HIS Sister had married a Gentleman of Worth and Fortune, who more than once had saved him from Banishment or Imprisonment, which by a Variety of Crimes he had deserved. However, because this Gentleman had once refused to lend him a Sum of Money, on Account of his having some Idea of the Use he intended it for, *Duprè* resolved to be revenged on him, which he effected thus.

HE perswaded a Gentlewoman, with whom he was very familiar, to invite his Brother-in-law to her House, where he met him, begg'd his Pardon for what had pass'd, and having engaged him to drink a Bottle with

him, he of a sudden pick'd a Quarrel, and having given his Brother such abusive Language as was not to be born, that Gentleman rose up hastily in order to go away. *Dupri*, who watched for this Opportunity, struck him under the Right Pap with a Dagger, and as he turn'd to defend himself, shot him into the Left Breast with a Pistol. Having perpetrated this horrid Murder, he caused some of his Dependents to take the Body in the Dead of the Night, and carry it a considerable Space; he then directed it to be laid down, and himself and his People quarrelling over it in a high Tone, he at length discharged a Pistol, and left it and the Dagger by the dead Corpse; hoping that from these Circumstances it would be thought he was kill'd in a Fray at the Place where he was found.

His Artifice succeeded so well, that at first he was not at all suspected, nor is it probable that the Truth had ever come out, if he had not brought it about by refining upon his former Scheme; for after settling the Deceased's Affairs, and speaking upon all Occasions with the utmost Horror of his Assassination, he at length proceeded to offer a great Reward for discovering the Murderers.

THIS put many People upon enquiring into the Circumstances of the Fact, and at last he was cited to appear at *Chamberry*, to answer an Accusation preferr'd against him upon this Head. His Courage fail'd him here, for instead of going to *Chamberry*, he withdrew out of the Dominions of *Savoy*, and retir'd to *Fribourg*. The Process hereupon was quickly finish'd, his Estate confiscated, and himself condemned to be broke upon the Wheel,

AT *Fribourg*, being exceedingly distressed for Money, he enter'd into new Schemes with some desperate Persons residing in *Burgundy*; in going to a Meeting which they had appointed, he was apprehended by a Party of Horse, sent for that Purpose from *Berne*, whither he was shortly after conducted, and where a Process being commenced against him for the Rape of his Wife, he was condemned to lose his Head. He little regarded this Sentence at first, believing, that as his Family was in good Circumstances, it would be bought off, but when he found that this was not to be done, but that die he must, he lost all Patience, Prudence, and even common Sense.

HE uttered bitter Execrations against the Lords of *Berne*; he refused to listen to the Ministers who came to pray with him; he would not go to the Place of Execution, but was dragged thither like a Dog. When he was on the Scaffold, he stamp'd and beat his Breast like a Madman, 'till at length his Hands being tied between his Legs, and himself held down upon his Breech, the Executioner struck off his Head. It was hoped that this Execution would have tamed People of this Stamp for the future, but it did not, many of *Dupré's* Associates continuing to use the same Trade, which is but too commonly practised in *Italy*.

As to the City of *Berne*, it is not very large, but wonderfully fortified by Nature, being almost surrounded by the River *Aar*, which at once renders it safe and pleasant. Over this River there is a fine Stone Bridge, and the Country about it is carefully cultivated. *Lausanne*, which also belongs to this *Canton*, is a very considerable Place, though very oddly situated, occupying the

the Slope of *two* Hills and the Valley between them : The rest of the Territory of *Berne* is full of large Burghs and populous Villages, in the Neighbourhood of which there is great Abundance of Corn, as well as of good Wine ; Liberty and Industry being the grand Characteristics of the Inhabitants of this, and of the rest of the Protestant *Cantons*.

ZURICH is the most considerable Place in *Switzerland*, and therefore deserves to be the more exactly described. It stands at the Bottom of the great Lake which divides it in two, Part lying on one Side, and Part on the other. Both joined together by three Bridges, one of them so large as to admit of an Herb-Market upon it ; there are abundance of Goldsmiths, Paper-Makers, Dealers in Cloth, Makers of Wicker-Ware, &c. in this Place, where Young and Old work hard for their Livings, and where Idleness is not only punished with Infamy, but with Imprisonment : Peace and Plenty always abound. The City is well fortified, and every Citizen is at Liberty to wear a Sword.

HERE are two Councils, a Council of *fifty*, and a greater Council of *two hundred*. It is impossible for People to live with greater Unity amongst themselves, or with more Decorum than the Inhabitants of *Zurich* do, either in temporal, or spiritual Concerns. In their Churches a Psalm is first sung, then the Minister prays, being habited in a Gown with a Cap upon his Head, which however he puts off while he prays ; then he gives out the Text, preaches a full Hour, then makes a concluding Prayer, after which another Psalm is sung, and so the Service ends. One Thing is very remarkable, that tho' they are *zealous Calvinists*, yet they bow very reverently

rently at the Name of *Jesus*. It is generally believed that *Zurich* is three Times as big as *Geneva*; the Houses are many of them of Stone, with Portico's before them, and the publick Buildings are remarkably neat, and perfectly well kept in Repair. The neighbouring Country abounds with Corn, Wine, Fruits, &c. and the Lake, together with the River *Limagis*, furnishes it with excellent Fish.

As to the *Swiss* in general, though they are somewhat rude in their Manners, yet they are naturally honest, open, and sincere. It is said that their Virtues are liable to Injury from Travelling; for it is observed that in Foreign Service, the *Swiss* are crafty, avaricious, and a little inclin'd to Mutiny; whereas at home they are very patient and submissive. It is morally certain, that their Country in the Hands of other Inhabitants would be but a very indifferent Place, whereas by their Industry and Frugality, it is made to furnish not only the Necessaries, but the Conveniencies of Life. By Frugality I mean, that Sparingness which is observable amongst them in Regard to Clothes and Household Furniture, wherein Usefulness and Cleanliness are only expected; for as to Beauty and Magnificence, they are not affected with them, even where it is in their Power. As to their Table it is otherwise; they love to eat and drink well and plentifully, especially the latter, which sometimes they push to Excess, the Love of Liquor being their greatest Vice. They are hardy, couragious, extremely capable of military Discipline, War being a Trade to which they are all bred.

In the Cities there are generally speaking more Men, than Women, on Account of the Manufactures that are carried

carried on ; in the Country again there are more Women than Men ; the former are no less industrious than the latter : They do not spare for Pains or Labour in such Buſineſſes as they are able to execute ; and as to the Care of their Families, the Women in no Part of the World excell them ; for they are very affectionate to their Husbands, and very tender towards their Children, whom they do not ſuffer however to grow up in a Courſe of Idleneſs, but take Care to teach them to do ſomething for their Bread, as ſoon as their Strength and Capacities will permit them. What I have ſaid relates to the Proteſtant Cantons only, for as to the Popiſh, I had not Occaſion to viſit them ; but I believe the Inhabitants do not differ much in their Manners. As to the Government of this Country, I ſhall ſpeak of it when I come to mention my leaving *Geneva*, having taken ſome Pains to make my ſelf Maſter of the ſeveral Particulars relating thereto.

DURING the whole Time of my Reſidence at *Geneva*, my Letters came regularly both from *England* and *France*, 'till toward the latter end of the Year 1665, that I heard no more from M. *St. Dennis*. About three Months after, Mr. *Fetherſtone*, whoſe Affairs had call'd him into *Lorain*, returned into *Normandy*, and gave me an Account that our Friend, after firſt ſuffering by a partial Palfey, which took from him the Uſe of one Side, died extremely lamented by all who knew him. He had the Precaution the Day after he was firſt taken ill, to place the little Sum of Money I had left in his Hands, in the Hands of Mr. *Hay*, a Scotch Factor at *Bordeaux*, who happened to be at *Roan*, and who adviſed me of the Death of M. *de St. Dennis*, and of his
having

having *five hundred* Crowns of mine in his Hands, three or four Days after Mr. *Fetherstone's* Letter came to Hand.

It is impossible to express the Concern which the News of this old Gentleman's Death gave me: He was a Man of singular good Sense, and of the highest Probity; one who had lived long enough in Courts to detest them, and who knew perfectly well how to enjoy that Repose, with which Providence blessed him in his declining Years.

As he had received great Favours from the *Marshal de Ancrè*, while he was the Favourite of the Queen and of Fortune, he spoke of him always with much Tenderness. He commended his Affability and Sweetness of Temper, towards his Friends and Domesticks; his pleasant and familiar Manner of conversing with them, and his Readiness to serve them. He observed that the *Marshal* was not mistaken in Those whom he honoured with his Confidence; for that the *Marshal Duke de Estrees*, the *Marshal Hocquincourt*, and the *Marshal de Bassompierre*, were his firm Friends to the last; he had however Vices more than sufficient to bring upon him the Misfortunes which crush'd him in the End: He was a Man of excessive Vanity, addicted to the amassing of Money by any Means, as also to the making an immoderate Display of it. His Ambition had no Bounds, yet he had the Address to conceal it, declining ever to be admitted of the King's Council, and affecting not to enquire into Matters of State, though nothing relating to them was transacted without his Knowledge. The King always hated him, and the *Marshal* was not ignorant of it, but fondly hoped to overcome his Aversion
by

by his Complacencies, and by his affecting to render him all the personal Services in his Power, which however had no Effect.

It hath been much doubted, whether by his Birth he was a Gentleman; and the same Thing hath been said of his Wife. The *Italians*, who ought to know best, affirm, that they were of mean Parentage; and yet nothing is more certain, than that their Names, *Concini*, and *Galigai*, speak them of noble Families, as appears from all the Histories of *Florence*. To solve this Difficulty, it is alledged that the *Marshal* assumed the Name of *Concini*; that the Name of his Wife was really, *Dosi*; and that her Father being a very rich *Miller* when he left off his Trade, procured the Family of *Galigai* to acknowledge him for their Relation, and to permit him to bear their arms.

HOWEVER, the Stations in which they both appeared in the beginning of their days seem to speak these suggestions calumnies. It was by the ascendancy which his Wife had over the Queen her Mistress, that the *Marshal de Ancre* arrived at such excessive Wealth, and at so exorbitant a Pitch of Grandeur; and as she was the Foundress of his Fortune, so if he had taken her Advice, she would have preserved him, herself, and their Family from the Mischiefs that beset them. They lived in the Midst of Wealth, Power, and Splendour; not only in perpetual anxiety and uneasiness, from the open Testimonies of Hatred, which the People bestowed very liberally upon them; but were also, on account of Family Differences, continually quarreling at home.

THE grand Dutchess of *Tuscany* had once the Goodness to send the *Marshal* a Message to this Purpose.
That

That since the Winds grew high, and the Waves began to roll, he would do well to think of steering into some Port. To which the Marshal answered, *That while his Vessel went before the Wind, he was resolved to keep out at Sea, and to push his good Fortune to its utmost Extent.* In this he really spoke as he thought, for at other Times, out of an Affectation of Moderation, he would speak of retiring, as a Thing which of all others he sought most, and that he was impeded therein by the Obstinacy of his Wife; whereas in Truth, she daily solicited him thereto.

AT last many Circumstances concurring, his Ruin was determined. The King intended by his Destruction to make the first Essay of his Power, and to assert what to him appeared the choicest Jewel in his Crown, *an absolute Authority.* His favourite *Luynes* eagerly desired to succeed in the *Marshal's Place*, and to enrich his Family by the Confiscation of the Favourite's Effects. *Vitry*, the Captain of the Guards, was the Man made choice of to perform this extraordinary Act, of staining the Royal Palace with Blood, which he readily accepted, in hopes of acquiring thereby a *Marshal's Staff.* Without Question, if this Affair had taken Air, the whole Plot would have been defeated, the whole Power being as yet in the Hands of the *Queen*, and her Favourite.

THE King, though a young Man, behaved with profound Dissimulation; the Terror of a Miscarriage kept *Luynes* perfectly silent, but *Vitry* had the Imprudence to acquaint his Mistress with it the Evening before; happy for him that she had less of female Loquacity, than he of manly Prudence, otherwise this Scheme had never

ver taken Place, as it did on the 24th of *April* 1617, when *Vitry* stabb'd the *Marshal* in the *Louvre*. This extraordinary Step was immediately followed by others, the Queen was removed and confined; the *Marshal's* Wife sent Prisoner to the *Bastile*, and so totally deserted that she had not so much as Change of Linnen there, 'till she procured from some of the Keepers, a couple of ready-made Shifts, which cost a Crown. She behaved however with great Courage and Intrepidity; and when she was brought before her Judges to answer a long Charge, consisting of Variety of Crimes, at the Head of which were *Sorcery* and *Magick*, on a Supposition that she had bewitched the Queen; she could not help crying out, *Alas! what Witchcraft! I governed her by the Superiority of my Genius. What Miracle was it that a Woman of Wit, should influence one who had none?*

HOWEVER, she was condemned to lose her Head at the *Place de Grave*, and her Body to be afterwards burnt, which was executed; and all the Estates which she and her Husband had possessed were confiscated, amounting, as some say, to *half a Million* Sterling. The only Son of the *Marshal d'Ancre* continued for some Years a Prisoner, but being at length discharged, retired to *Florence*, where he possessed Estates of the Value of *twenty thousand* Crowns a Year, 'till the Plague carried him off in the Prime of his Age. It is pretended that the *Marshal d'Ancre* sought to make himself a sovereign Prince. *First*, by Purchase from the *Pope* of the Dutchy of *Ferrara*, and afterwards by seeking to get the County of *Montbeliard* erected into an independent Principality; however, both his Designs miscarried.

It is said that when the *Marshal* was one Day pressing the Queen earnestly upon these Points, and her Majesty seemed inclin'd to comply with his Requests, the *Marshal's* Wife could not refrain from saying : *Madam, you approve too easily whatever Projects this Fool forms, and in the End his Vanity and Self-Conceit will ruin us all.* This Sentence doth not want Spirit, Sense, and Loyalty, but at the same Time it is a full Proof of that Contempt of her Husband which must have made her a very bad Wife. A complaisant Disposition atones for many Faults ; but I confess I know not what Virtues can compensate for the Want of such a Disposition.

My long Residence at *Geneva* had, as I have observed, a great Influence on my Temper and Manner of living ; I was no longer possessed with a Spirit of Rambling, but on the contrary followed my Studies close, conformed my self to the Manners of the People among whom I lived, and took a great deal of Pleasure in making my self acquainted with the Manufactures carried on there. It so happened that one Mr. *Roland*, a Jeweller, or rather a Lapidary, lodged at the next Door ; he was a Man very well skill'd in his Business, and had spent the Prime of his Years in the *Levant*. With this Man I frequently conversed, and as he was very frank and communicative, I learned from him abundance of Things relating to his Trade. It so fell out, that by reason of some Disappointments he was greatly straitened, and his Credit in the utmost Danger. Out of this Difficulty I extricated him, and thence forward he scarce kept any of his Secrets from me.

His principal Art lay in tinging Crystals after they were cut, and in forming *factitious* Stones which in their Appearance fell very little short of those esteemed precious, especially of the *Opaque* kind. Though I had not the least Idea of profiting by these Lights, yet I often amused my self with Experiments in this Way, and as I spared neither Labour nor Cost, by degrees I succeeded as well as my Master. Mr. *Roland*, far from being displeased, assisted me all he could, explained to the utmost of his Ability the Nature of *Gems*, and particularly of coloured Stones, which he best understood. To what I learned from Mr. *Roland*, I joined what I could discover on the same Subjects from those who were skill'd in natural Philosophy, and from such Persons of Taste as had Cabinets, and were curious as to the History of the remarkable *Jewels* which they had in their Custody. I likewise went through a Course of Chemistry, procured all the Books I could hear of relating to precious Stones, and began my self to make a little Collection of Rarities by way of Amusement.

My Man *Johnson* was at first a little out of humour at the Trouble my new Employment gave him, but by degrees he began to have a Relish for it, and was at last never better pleased than when employ'd in the Experiments I was daily making. All this Time I proceeded with my respective Masters, and acquired so strong a Relish for the Sciences, that I had no further Thoughts of an active Life. But as Time and Chance have Dominion over all Men, so it was not long before they exerted their Sovereignty over me, and so effectually changed the Face of my Affairs, and at the same time altered so entirely my own Temper, that never were two
Men

Men more unlike each other, than I in my succeeding Years to my self while at *Geneva*.

IN the beginning of the Year 1669, Mr. *Fetherstone* acquainted me with the Death of my Uncle, which happened suddenly, so that he left his Affairs in the greatest Confusion. He had two Sons, of whose Education he had taken all imaginable Care, and yet with very little Success. The eldest of them knowing, that at all Events he should inherit his Mother's Jointure, became a downright rural Squire, conversed more with his Dogs than his Neighbours, and lived the Year round in a State between drunk and sober. His Father dying without a Will, at least that could be found, he took Possession of his real Estate, and made over all Claim to what there might be of personal to his younger Brother.

THIS young Spark was quite of another Cast; he had been bred at *Venice*, where he had acquired abundance of *Italian Art*, and where, if ever he had any, he left all his Stock of *English Probity*. When Mr. *Fetherstone* first wrote to him on my Concerns, he pretended an absolute Ignorance of them. He could not apprehend how any Mr. *Brown* should stand in so near a Relation to him; alledged that his Father's Accompts were in bad Order, and that he did not know whether his *Effects* would answer the Demands which had already been made upon him. After six or seven Months writing to and fro, he at length wrote Mr. *Fetherstone*, that he had found a *Memorandum* in his Father's Pocket-Book, purporting his Intention to remit five hundred Crowns to Mr. *Brown* at *Geneva*, in full of all his Demands, of which he desired Mr. *Fetherstone* to inform me; as also that he had remitted that Sum to Mr. *Hales* at *Venice*,

who would pay it to me or my Order, on my signing such Discharges as he had taken care to transmit to the same Person.

I easily understood whereto all this tended, and saw clearly my own Folly in leaving *thirteen hundred* Pounds in my Uncle's Hands. The Mortgage I had was in the Name of *Brown*, for I had been out-lawed during the first *Dutch War*, when it was thought necessary to proceed with the utmost Severity against all who had been any way concerned in the Protector's Government. Thus in an Instant I lost a comfortable Estate, and was left to look about me with no other View of a Subsistence, than what could be drawn from the small Stock of between *three* and *four* thousand Crowns, and the Effects which I still had in *France* and *Italy*. One Advantage I had in the midst of these cross Accidents, *viz.* my Credit which the Transactions I had had with my Uncle Mr. *Fetherstone*, Mr. *St. Dennis*, and Mr. *Hales* at *Bordeaux*, and other Merchants, had rendered pretty extensive: So that if I had been at this Time acquainted with the Method of carrying on any sort of Traffick, I might either have done pretty well at *Geneva*, or might have removed to *Leghorn*, and have settled there with a tolerable Prospect.

BUT as I had made Books so long my Study, all the Profit I reaped from them was to know that they could now be of very little Service; and as I was sensible that the disclosing my Affairs might be attended with infinitely more Prejudice than Advantage, I did not think proper to make at this Time any such Inquiries as would have tended to the opening a Passage to a new Scene of Life, which nothing but Necessity could have prompted

prompted me to think of, and which Necessity was of all Reasons in the World the most unfit to be assigned to those I must have consulted. It remained therefore thoroughly to consider Things in my own Breast, and after mature Consideration immediately to put in Practice such Resolutions as Reason dictated.

THE first Thing I did was to send *Johnson* to *Venice*, with Orders to bring me Copies of the Papers transmitted to Mr. *Hales*, to whom I wrote in the most respectful Manner. While the Servant was gone upon this Errand, I spent almost all my Time at Mr. *Roland's*, where our Conversation turned chiefly on the Trade he had carried on in the *Levant*. He acquainted me with the Genius and Temper of the People; the Jewels which they most affected; the Method of dealing with them; the Manner of travelling in Caravans; the necessary Precautions against such Accidents as Strangers were most liable to; the Means of dealing with *Jews*, *Armenians*, *Greeks*, and other Christians, together with the Arts of concealing Things of Value, and avoiding those Snares which Governors, military Officers, and petty Princes make use of in order to plunder Travellers and Merchants. From these Inquiries I derived much Information, and as I was not over sleepy in the Night, I diverted myself with writing in my Journal my Questions to Mr. *Roland*, and his Answers, and when I had so done, I drew out in my Pocket-Book a new List of Questions for the next Day.

I did not at this Time apprehend that these Remarks would at any Time be of Service farther than to divert me; but when I afterwards experienced many Advantages from them, I took a liking to the Method, and

pursued it all my Life. One Thing Mr. *Roland* over and over insisted on, *viz.* That whoever intended to travel amongst the *Turks*, *Persians*, or other oriental Nations, ought by all Means to make himself Master of the Art of *Physick*, a *Science* little understood, and consequently wonderfully admired by these Nations. As the present Disorder of my Mind hindered me from applying to my usual Studies, I made Choice of some Books of Travels, which I read with great Avidity, and perceiving from them how necessary good Mapps were, I made the best Collection I could in that Way, and had them bound so as to roll in a leather Case, which lying in a small Compass, might be conveniently carried without any Danger of spoiling them.

THUS, without intending to travel, I furnished myself with the Requisites for a distant Voyage. On this I have sometimes reflected with Wonder, but I think I can now discern that there was nothing in it strange at all. A Man disordered in his Mind never acts rationally, and therefore when he comes afterwards coolly to consider his own Conduct, he takes the Effects of his own Passions for Things supernatural, and would fain introduce Fate to take the Blame of his Folly. Thus Self-Love bubbles us when we are not upon our Guard, and when we are, attempts to persuade us that we were bubbled by something else.

THE first News I received from *Johnson*, was that he had received a very short Answer from the Merchant, and that he was fallen sick at *Venice* of an Ague, which rendered it impossible for him to travel. The Day after I received another Letter from a Merchant at *Roan*, with Advice that Mr. *Fetherstone* had failed, and was
gone

gone off. Both these Accidents gave me inexpressible Concern. I was forced to remit Money to *Venice* for the use of *Johnson*; I was much at a Loss for him to divert my Melancholy; for as he was a Man of Sense, and ten Years older than I, he was become a Sort of Companion, and indeed the only Companion I had. With Respect to Mr. *Fetherstone*, my Grief was equal for his Misfortune and my own, above a third Part of the little Fortune I had being in his Hands.

HOWEVER, my Apprehensions with Respect to him were quickly lessened, by a Letter inclosed in one from Mr. *Hales*, signifying that his Losses would not at all affect me, all my Effects being in the Hands of them on whom he could depend, and who would shortly remit them to Mr. *Hales*. *Johnson* continued five Weeks ill at *Venice*, and was at last cured by the Surgeon of an *English* Ship by Vomits only. As soon as the Surgeon told him it was safe for him to travel, he set out for *Geneva*; and though he informed me of the Day of his Departure, he surprized me very much by his Arrival, which was four Days sooner than I expected. He told me that Mr. *Hales* had shewn him the Writings which he apprehended to be Releases in the most ample Forms, but that he had refused to let him have any Copies of them, and said, that if Mr. *Brown* did not think fit to sign them he might let it alone. After we had talk'd over some other Affairs that I had entrusted him with, and had received all the Intelligence he could give, we began to let Matters rest, and from talking of *Venice*, turned our Thoughts to our Affairs in *England*, *France*, and *Geneva*.

ONE Evening when we were deeply engaged in discussing Mr. *Fetherstone's* Affair, *Johnson* started up of a sudden, and with an Air of Surprize cried out, *Lord! Sir! I forgot to tell you that Mrs. Lucia — is at Venice.* At first I was so much confounded, that I did not make him an Answer; at last, contrary to my Custom, I flew into a violent Passion, upbraided him with Stupidity, and want of Thought in not telling me before; to which the Man very innocently answered, That it was twenty to one, considering his Sicknefs, and the many Things he had upon his Head, that he remember'd it at all. However, I could not get him to any Temper that Night, and therefore went early to Bed, where I spent the Night without Sleep, endeavouring to find what it was that had put me so much out of my ordinary Road.

I was once or twice going to call *Johnson* up, but reflecting that the Man would believe I was absolutely mad, I desisted, and at last, when it grew light, fell asleep, and did not wake 'till *Johnson* came into the Room, to tell me it was eight o'Clock, and consequently above two Hours later than I was wont to rise.

WHEN I had dressed myself, I did not as my manner was go out; but having called *Johnson* into the Room, talked to him of indifferent Things, in Order to lead him to speak again of his Stay at *Venice*. But it fell out with me, as I believe it does with most Men, when under the Influence of their Passions; all I gain'd by my Arts, was to amuse and deceive myself, for before we had talked a quarter of an Hour, *Johnson* return'd very bluntly to the Point I aimed at, thus. I can now, Sir, very readily account for the Passion you were in last Night,

Night, as soon as I reflected on the manner Mrs. *Lucia* was spirited away from her Fathers, and how briskly you thereupon rode to your Uncle's, the Secret was out, and I perfectly convinced, that I should have done better if I had spoke of Mrs. *Lucia*, before I had given you an Account of your Business ; and perhaps it would have been best of all, if I had been wise enough to have forgot I had seen her.

WHEN I found, that Circumspection and Circumlocution signified nothing, I came as roundly to the Thing as he. Acknowledged that I had an extraordinary Concern, as to every Thing which related to this Lady, and desired to know, how she came to *Venice*, and in what manner she liv'd there. Sir, answer'd *Johnson*, I should be glad if my Intelligence furnished me with a Power of making you satisfactory Answers ; all I can tell you I will, and assure you with great Sincerity, that if while I remained at *Venice*, it had come into my Mind, that the Affairs of Mrs. *Lucia* had so near a Relation to yours, I should not have spared any Pains to have been better informed about them ; but as I had then no such Thoughts, you must be content with receiving from me, what by meer Accident I came to know. One Day when I went to receive the Money you were pleased to remit me, I happened as I was going out of the Merchant's House to meet Mrs. *Lucia*, she knew me sooner than I did her, called me by my Name, and asked me, if you were in *Venice* ; I told her you were not, she said, she had been there three Years, and never had been able to hear a Word of you, the Cause of which I readily apprehended to be your going by your Mother's Name. I promised
her

her to call the next Day ; but having only that Time to provide for my Journey, my Head was so occupied with other Things, that I really thought no more of Mrs. *Lucia* till last Night ; so that if I have committed any Fault thro' indiscretion, I hope my telling you plainly the Truth, will make some Atonement for an involuntary Error.

It would have been very happy for me, if I had thought as wisely as my Servant ; but who ever does so that is under the Dominion of Passion. From the very Moment we had this Discourse, I began to frame a Project of going to *Venice*, with no other View certainly than to see *Lucia*, and yet I had not Courage enough to avow this, but began to reason with *Johnson* on Mr. *Hales's* Conduct, and to drop some Hints, that very possibly I might be able to bring him by Discourse, to think better upon this Head.

AFTER several Conversations upon this Subject, perceiving what I said made *Johnson* very thoughtful and uneasy, I pressed him to speak his Sentiments freely and candidly, and at last he did so. I have been about you Sir, said he, ever since you were a Child, and when I was very little more myself, you have had a great many Difficulties to go through, and you have, blessed be God, gone through them very happily. Your Conduct hath hitherto been so right, that I never presumed to question it ; but you are of late so much altered, have such nice and odd Notions, that I find myself absolutely obliged to impart to you out of your own Stock, and to offer to you the best Advice I can, from the Principles you have heretofore taught me.

As to Mr. *Hales*, he is a Man of an inflexible Temper, swallowed up in Business, and will no more enter into the History of your private Concerns, than he would pay you the five Hundred Ducats upon an uncertainty. To make the Persuasion of this Man the Motive of your Journey, therefore would be a perfect Chimera; indeed if you settle your Affairs here, I should think you might as well reside at *Venice*, as any where else, or rather better; but to be making Journeys to and fro, will answer no Purpose, but that of running into a large Expence, which is worse than none.

As soon as I had extorted from *Johnson* this plain and honest Judgment of my Affairs, the next Thing I did was, to seclude him from my Counsels, and to resolve with great Secrecy and much Diligence, to prosecute as far as in me lay, the Ruin of my Fortune, which was already in a bad Train. I found out, by the Means of Mr. *Roland*, a Gentleman who had very considerable Concerns with Mr. *Hales*, and from him I procured Letters of Recommendation, signifying that I had resided several Years at *Geneva*, had lived like a Man of Probity, on whose Word he might depend. From this Gentleman also, I took Bills on Mr. *Hales*, for upwards of a hundred Pounds Sterling; I likewise provided some Jewels, and having taken all the necessary Care for travelling with the utmost Expedition, the Morning before I was to set out, I acquainted *Johnson* with my Resolution, and at the same Time told him, that I should leave all my Concerns in his Hands, and did not at all doubt his taking a proper Care of them.

THE Man seemed, as well he might, amazed at so odd and sudden a Step; but when he had recover'd himself

himself a little, he said it was the first Time that he obeyed me with Reluctance ; and that he should be glad that I took as much Care of my own Affairs at *Venice*, as he would be sure to take of all entrusted with him at *Geneva*. This said, he immediately dispatched whatever was requisite for me to have with me in this Journey, such as Cloaths, Linnen, &c. with a Care and Alacrity, which rather gave me Pain than Satisfaction.

THE next Day I set out, but my Mind was so much distracted, and my Head so confused, that I made no manner of Observation of Places, Persons, or Things ; and had much ado to regulate even the necessary Concerns in my Passage ; so much was I taken up with a Desire of reaching a Place where, properly speaking, I had no very great Business.

AT last I arrived at *Padua*, where in Respect to my Health, I ought to have continued for some Time, having felt the first Attacks of an Ague, which visited me more rudely at *Venice*. However I remained in this famous City and University but three Days, the first of which was far spent when I arrived, and on the last I was not able to travel. The fourth in the Morning, I set out for *Venice*, where the Difficulties I met with in going ashore, partly through my own Inadvertency, and partly through the unnecessary niceness of the Officers of Health vexed me not a little, and contributed to make the next Fit of my Ague more violent.

As soon as I was at Liberty to go to the Factory, I did make shift to go first to Mr. *Hales's* about Business, and then to the Merchant's House where *Lucia* dwelt. At the first I met with better Treatment than

I expected ; when I came to explain myself upon the Reasons of not signing the Papers, Mr. *Hales* would have excused himself from hearing any Thing, but when I promised to be concise, and had entered a little into my Story, he said I had been hardly used, desired to see me some other Time, and promised he would think of some Method to serve me. *Lucia* was exceedingly surprized at the Sight of me, and tho' the great Errand I had at *Venice* was to see her, I was much more so at the Sight of her.

It happened luckily that there were no Spectators at this Interview, which when she came to herself, the Lady desired might be short, advised me in a Day or two to go and lodge at a certain Place where she promised I should see her, and hear from her a very singular Account of what had happened to her since our parting. In Compliance with her Request, I presently took my Leave, and returned to the Place where I lodged for the present, which I found to be very little distant from the Dwelling of an *English* Statuary, at whose House *Lucia* had desired me to take Lodgings. I was at first thinking to have sent for this Person, in order to have told him, that as I was much indisposed, and had some Matters of Consequence to transact at *Venice*, I should be glad to live in an *English* House for many Reasons. But reflecting that *Lucia* could not direct me to this Man's House without having some Knowledge of the Person who kept it, I judged it would be better to let it alone to the next Day, that in the intermediate Space, she might if she thought proper, give the Man some Intimation of it.

IN this for once I judged right, for having the next Day about Noon, sent for Seignior *Busbell*, and acquainted him what my Business was, he presently told me, that the Lady had spoke to his Wife upon this Head; and that in two or three Days, an Apartment should be fitted up for me, and he would do his best to make all Things as commodious as possible. In the Interim I received a Letter from Mr. *Fetherstone*, inclosed in one from *Johnson*, in which he informed me of a very extraordinary Accident which had happened to our Friend M. *D'Aulnoy*.

THE Marquis *de Courboyere*, M. *la Moufiere*, and M. *Lamiere*, three Normans, the two first Men of Family, and who had lived in Friendship with M. *de Aulnoy*; the last a Man in bad Circumstances, but who had a good Reputation, conspired the Destruction of this unfortunate Gentleman; the former out of Pique, the latter for a Reward of a thousand Crowns, half of which he had received: The Method agreed on was, to charge M. *d'Aulnoy* with Treason, which accordingly was done, and the Matter so cunningly managed, that tho' the Facts were absolutely false, yet the innocent Gentleman was on the very Point of being condemned: Then it was that *Lamiere*, a Stranger to him in Comparison to the other, began to relent; however Fear got the better of his Honesty, and he held his Tongue till M. *d'Aulnoy* was Condemned to lose his Head, till the Priest had confessed him, and till he saw his Grave dug.

HE then followed the supposed Criminal into the Presence of his Judges, who were met to examine him before his Execution. There *Lamiere* fell down on his
Knees

Knees, confessed his Perjury, and charg'd his two Associates, who were likewise present, with the Conspiracy, of which he gave such authentic Proofs, that M. d'Aulnoy was immediately discharg'd. The Marquis de Courboyere was a few Days afterwards executed on the Scaffold erected for the Execution of M. d'Aulnoy, on which the Day following *la Muisiere* suffered. *Lamiere* was present at both these Executions; after the last, he knelt down near the dead Body, and the Executioner having pass'd his Sword over his Head, he was set at Liberty. A most signal Deliverance this from a double Execution of the Body and of the Reputation. What the Motive of this Conspiracy was, or whether any more than M. d'Aulnoy were comprised therein, I could never learn. As to his own Affairs, Mr. *Fetherstone* acknowledged, they were in very bad Order, but assured me, my Money was safe, and that I might command it when I pleas'd.

THE Day before I was to go to Mr. *Busbell's* the Statuary, went again to wait on Mr. *Hales*, who told me he had reflected on what I said, and by comparing it with certain Circumstances, within the compass of his own Knowledge, was fully convinced it was true. He added, that he was sorry a Gentleman who had been bred at *Venice* should act after such a manner; and that if I remained a few Months there, he would endeavour to procure me Satisfaction. He would have paid the Bills I brought with me from *Geneva*, tho' they were not due; but I declined it, having no immediate Occasion for Money.

HE advis'd me to be careful of my Health, and not to suffer myself to be corrupted by the Pleasures of *Venice*.

AFTER

AFTER Dinner I went to see a Play, which did not entertain me near so much as I expected. To have a relish for *Italian* Comedy, a Man must not only understand *Italian*, but be also thoroughly tinctured with their Manners, otherwise the pert Jokes, the obscene Jest, and that sort of manual Wit with a wooden Sword, which is there so much in Fashion, amounts to nothing. The *English* Comedy, especially as manag'd by *Johnson* and *Fletcher*, is infinitely superior to any Thing hitherto known in *Europe*.

ONE may be allowed to say this without Suspicion of Flattery, since to judge of Comedy, we must read the Rules laid down by the *Critics*, observe their Effects in the Works of the ancient Poets, who are by all allowed to excel, and then with those compare the *Moderns*; but if we except the *French*, there are none but our *English* Comedies that can be compared with the Ancients. The *Italian* Plays, nay, and the *Spanish* too, are written without Regard to rule, and depend much more upon the Action of the Player, than upon the Genius of the Author.

TIRED therefore with this Representation, I bought two or three Collections of Novels, that I might improve myself in *Italian*, and at the same Time divert that splenetick Disposition, which made me uneasy to myself, and no doubt disagreeable to others. Thus the same Passion which divested me of a Power of using Time, taught me how to murder it, just as the Folly which hinders a young Man from encreasing an Estate, puts him into the Road of spending it.

THE second Day after my Removal, *Lucia* came to see me, her Visit was short, and a meer Matter of Form,

Form, some of the Family being always present; but she took Occasion to drop a Note in the Window, intimating, that the next Day at three o'Clock, she would come and stay two or three Hours. These Delays were infinitely grievous to me, yet as I apprehended they were reasonable, it gave me a most exalted Idea of *Lucia's* Prudence.

At her Hour the Lady came, with a Servant, and after having passed some little Time with a Friend of her's, who lodged in the House, she passed through that Lady's Apartment to mine; and after some previous Introduction, and brief Inquiry into what had befallen me since I left *England*; she entred on the Story of her own Life, and the Cause of our strange and sudden Separation. It may be my Recital of her Discourse, may in some Way tarnish its Beauty, Women having a peculiar Elegance in Narration, and the Detail of Facts, likes Rays of Light receiving Colour from Reflection, yet if Truth be preserved, the Variations will not be material, and as they are inevitable may be easily pardoned.

It would be to no Purpose said she, for me to give you any Account of my Family, who are as well acquainted with it as myself, I will therefore briefly open to you what hath been the Source of great Disquiet to me, and I am perswaded, no less Uneasiness to yourself. Colonel ——— when he went on the Expeditions to *Hispaniola*, left under my Father's Care his Son, a Youth of about Nineteen Years of Age. What Education he had before he came to live with us I know not, but during that Space, we saw little Signs of any; Country Sports he affected much, loved Drinking more than youngsters usually do, and was addicted to other Vices,
H which

which made my Father very uneasy, lest he should corrupt my Brother *Philip*.

It so happened, that either by over heating himself, or some other Irregularity, this young Gentleman fell into a Fever, which brought him to the very Verge of Death, and when it left him, had so exceedingly enfeebled him, that the Physicians were of Opinion, it would be followed by a Consumption. To prevent this, they recommended to him a very regular Course of Life, great Composure of Mind, and all sorts of innocent Diversions. In Consequence of these Rules, he came much more into our Company than he was wont, and being much taken with the Romances and Books of Poetry which furnish my Closet, he fancied the Amusement he received from them, contributed to his Health, which being established by Degrees, he shewed a more than ordinary Regard for me, which was much sooner understood by my Brother and Father than myself.

You must know, that my Brother *Philip* hath some Qualities in him which are not suddenly suspected. He is particularly addicted to Interest, and was so from his most tender Years. He never despised Money, as young Lads are apt to do, but very carefully laid up whatever was given him, and was continually forming Projects to encrease his Stock.

As soon therefore as he perceived his Friends liking to me, he informed my Father of it, took Notice of the considerable Estate the young Gentleman was to inherit, as also of his Expectations from a Relation at *Smyrna*, immensely rich, and who had no other Relation. While he was instilling these Notions into my Father's Head, Colonel ——— died abroad, and left his
Son

Son a clear Estate of 1500 *l. per Ann.* and a very considerable Sum in ready Money, which determined my Father to improve, what to him appeared the luckiest Accident in the World. As to me, they either thought my Consent not necessary, or reckoned upon it as a Thing of Course ; and therefore they mentioned nothing of their Scheme till all was ripe for its Execution.

WHEN the young Man had discovered that as a Secret to my Brother, which himself had found out, and reckoned upon long before, then it was thought proper to break the Matter to me, which was accordingly done by my Brother ; but in such Terms, as shewed that I was not to be consulted, but directed. Whether this gave any Biass to my Inclinations or not, I am unable to determine. The young Man had never been agreeable to me, tho' out of Respect to his Family, I had always treated him with much Civility : An Accident had contributed to improve this Dislike into an Aversion, he had a Lad that waited on him, pretty near his own Age, and who was his Nurse's Son ; this Boy upon every little Offence, he would lash with his Horse-Whip as if he had been a Slave ; which to me seemed a bad President for his Wife, and therefore I told my Brother on the first mention of this Business, that I could never have any Affection for him ; and therefore would never consent to marry him.

THIS unexpected Answer put them all into Confusion. The first Resolution they came to was, to forbid me to explain myself to the young Man ; which Command I received from my Father himself, not without some very sharp Reflections on my Conduct,

or as he was pleased to call it, my disobedience. As in the Course of my Life I had never deserved or received the smallest Reproof before, the old Gentleman's Discourse made an inexpressible Impression on my Mind, insomuch that I threw myself at his Feet, and bedewed them with my Tears.

WHEN I had recovered my Spirits a little, I told him I was so sensible of my Duty to him as a Parent, and of the Obligations laid on me by his Tenderness, that I had much rather submit to Death than do any Thing which might either offend or afflict him. I would be glad to know, Daughter, replied he, which you would have me believe, your Words, or your Actions; for as they are contrary, you cannot imagine I can believe both. Pardon me, Sir, returned I, if to me they seem very consistent; I wish *Lucia*, added he, that you could convince me of that; why, Sir, continued I, my refusing to marry this Man is not the Effect of Humour, Pre-possession, or Obstinacy, I am convinced in my Mind, that if I were his Wife, he would make me very unhappy; this Sir, would not fail to afflict you, and therefore I hope you will not attribute my Conduct to Disobedience. No, *Lucia*! said the good old Man, sighing, I shall not: You may depend upon it that I will never force your Consent; perhaps you may in Time change your Sentiments; in the mean time, all that I expect from you, is to conceal them.

WHAT Excuses they made to my Suitor, I know not; but about two Months after, came a Letter from his Relation at *Smyrna*, desiring him to come thither with all possible Expedition, with an Assurance that he would be well recompensed for the Fatigue of his Voyage.

Voyage. My Father and Brother advised him to comply with his Relation's Desire, and the rather, because they thought his Absence added to his Youth, might be serviceable in protracting certain Suits that they were apprehensive would be commenced, in relation to some part of his Estate; they promised to furnish him with a proper Expedient for returning in a Year, or a little more, and my Brother very roundly undertook to him, that the Marriage he desired should then take Effect.

As to the Management of his Estate, his Father had settled it by Will on certain Trustees, with whom my Father would have nothing to do, having naturally no great proneness to Business. He and my Brother accompanied the young Gentleman to *London*, and the Spring following my Father would have *Phillip* go and study in *Scotland*; for he perceived that notwithstanding a more than ordinary Sagacity in his Nature, he had not a sufficient Stock of Learning, nor a competent Knowledge of the World, both of which he thought he might acquire by residing a little at one of the Universities in that Country.

I NEED not tell you what passed while you were at my Father's House; but as you are ignorant of the manner in which I was carried away, I will acquaint you therewith, and of what happened to me since I have been here. When you inadvertently communicated to my Brother your Thoughts concerning me, he instantly flew to my Father, and having given him very disadvantageous Impressions of our innocent Correspondence, brought him to order me to remain in my Chamber, where he was pleased to watch over me himself. About five in the Morning my Brother carried me in

the Coach to *Spalding*, from whence, when you were gone into the *North*, I was carried to *London*, and as narrowly watched, as if either some mighty Fortune had depended upon my Marriage, or I had been engaged in some scandalous Intrigue.

IN three Years Space I heard little or nothing from Home, whether at last I returned almost without knowing why I had been banish'd, or wherefore I was recalled. The good old Man received me on my Return with great Tenderness; he said he was sorry he had been so long deprived of me, and hoped I would still be a Comfort to him, since he had lost my Sister. This surpriz'd me, for in the Letters my Brother thought fit now and then to write to me, he had never mentioned a Word of any Thing befallen my Sister; I therefore asked my Father with some Amazement, how long she had been dead? She is not dead my Child answered he, tho' she is dead to me, she has married one Captain ——— whom you must have seen, a great Royalist, a boon Companion, and one of a small Fortune, who will quickly waste what her Grandmother left her, and leave her to be a Burthen and Disgrace to my Family.

I HAD not been long at Home before, after much Inquiry, I was inform'd that you were gone abroad under a borrowed Name, but whither, or under what Name, I could not then, or ever after learn. After a few Months, my Brother was obliged to go into the *West* on some Affairs of Consequence, and a Day or two after his Departure, my Sister came privately to make me a Visit. As we had always loved each other tenderly, I received her with all the Marks of Affection possible, and met the like in her, she told me, that being

ing quite fired with my Brother's severe governing Temper, she determined with herself to take the first Opportunity that offered of gaining her Liberty. While she was in this Temper, the Gentleman she married met her by Chance at a Neighbour's House; and being surprized to see a Woman whose Family had been always of the Puritan Side, so chearful and debonnaire, he took a Pleasure in conversing with her, and by Degrees became much in Love with her, she told him candidly and plainly the State she was in, her Desire of being settled, and the small Fortune she had.

THE Captain as fairly told her, he had a Relation lately dead, who had left him wherewith to clear his Estate, that he was very sensible of the idle manner in which he had formerly spent his Time; and that he was just in her Condition, waiting for an Opportunity to settle himself. This Similitude of Circumstances joined to the peevishness of my Brother, and the absolute Command he had over my Father, brought Things to a speedy Conclusion; they married privately, and my Sister having left a most dutiful Letter behind her, retired to the Captain's House, about a quarter of an Year before I was sent for Home.

WHEN she had visited me twice or thrice, I took a Opportunity when I knew my Father was coming down Stairs to leave the Door open. The old Gentleman, as soon as he saw her, came into the Room, and tho' he at first would have been very angry, yet in half an Hour his Passion was so far lost, that he asked her to stay all Night, and offered to send a Servant to acquaint her Husband, she very readily complied, and the next Morning came the Captain.

WE were from this Time all very good Friends, and my Father's Temper began to alter very much. His Son-in-law and he conversed very freely on Transactions of an ancient Date, and the more they conversed, the better they were satisfied with each other. My Father found that the Captain was neither debauched in his Morals, nor addicted to arbitrary Power, and he on the other Hand saw nothing of that Stiffness or Contempt of the Government which he expected in the old Man. Thus Things went for a Time happily enough in our Family, excepting that my uneasiness on your Account, encreased the natural Gravity of my Temper, and by causing a great Depression of Spirits, brought on an Indisposition of Body which threatened a Consumption.

My Brother, whose fertile Brain would never suffer him to be still, and whose Notions with Respect to Church and State had not received much Improvement from his Studies in *Scotland*, embarked himself in an Affair which had well nigh effected his Destruction. It happened that some of his Acquaintance had mentioned him to the *Duke of Bucks*, who was then in Disgrace, as a Man of lively Parts, and one zealously devoted to the Common-wealth Party; upon this he sent for him, caressed him, gave him a Share in his Business and his Pleasures, 'till the King issued a Proclamation for apprehending his Grace; and Warrants from the Council were sent to seize his Dependants, among whom *Philip* had the Honour to be one.

IN this Distress he retired into his native Country, and coming to a Farm-house about a Mile's Distance from our's, sent for his Father; the old Gentleman
though

though he went to see him, did not afford him that Countenance he was wont, but spoke to him very roundly, told him he was reconciled to Capt. — and that he would speak to him of his Business. My Brother took all in good Part, and being well acquainted with the Captain's Character, desired to lodge at his House, as knowing it would not be searched.

BUT in a few Months the Scene was changed ; the Duke of *Bucks* was declared Prime Minister ; governed all Things at his Will ; and my Brother going up to *London*, was well received by the Duke, and is, I believe, still in his Confidence. What the Designs of his Grace are, it is well if himself can tell ; but as to *Philip*, I dare say his Aim is to aggrandize himself by the Favour of his Patron, who hath already made such Promotions as have given Birth to a Proverb : *That to have a Place at Court a Man must be known not to love the King*. My Distemper encreasing, my Father was desirous I should come to *London* for Advice ; I did so, and lodged with an Aunt of my Brother-in-Law the Captain's. She had the Honour to be allied to the *Newcastle Family*, and by that means I was introduced to a great deal of good Company, to whom otherwise I should never have been known.

My Brother, during my Stay in Town, visited me very assiduously, and gave me extraordinary Marks of Tenderness and Affection. His former Conduct towards me made me at first entertain some Doubt of his Intentions, but by Degrees the great Change I saw in his Manners engaged me to hope he was really become a new Man ; for though he still affected to live upon good Terms with his old Friends, yet he was become a great Courtier,

Courtier, spoke very advantagiously of the *Duke of York*, and sometimes hinted that his *Royal Highness* had an extraordinary Kindness for the *Presbyterians*.

THOUGH these Things served for some Time to amuse me, and though on my first coming to *London* I was visibly better, yet in a few Months I relapsed, and the Physicians unanimously agreed that nothing could restore me to a sound State of Health, but residing some Time either in the South of *France*, or in *Italy*. Tho' this was not very agreeable to me at first, yet my Brother persuaded me to comply with it, promising to make it his Care that I should be perfectly easy as long as I staid abroad, and that he would procure me such Recommendations, as should secure to me a good Reception where-ever I came.

I DID not care, however, to be wholly at his Disposal, and therefore I very gladly accepted my Brother-in-Law's Proposal of going to *Venice*, and residing in the House where I now am, the Gentleman's Wife being the Captain's first Cousin. I have been here near six Months, have heard regularly from my Brother, whose Letters are continually accompanied with Presents; and the Air hath had so proper an Effect on my Constitution, that I really think that I am perfectly recovered.

THUS, without telling me any thing very extraordinary, *Lucia* charm'd my Attention, and I listen'd with more Satisfaction to the plain Narrative of what had befallen her since my leaving *England*, than I should have done to the best wrought Story of any *Italian* Wit, though it had abounded with surprizing Incidents, and had been embellished with that captivating Elegance deriv'd to this Nation, not more from Art than Nature.

IN

IN return to this Detail of *Lucia's* Adventures, I made a brief Recital of my own, from the Time of my leaving her Father's House, to that of my settling at *Geneva*. When I had finish'd, You have not told me, said she, any of your Amours. Come! come! You must not persuade me, that in so many Years you have seen no-body who could efface the slight Impressions you are pleas'd to say I made upon your Mind. If Nature had formed you without Regard to our Sex, you would have had no Passion for me; and having this Bent from Nature, Love could never have been all this Time idle.

YOUR own Relation, *Lucia*, said I, affords me a proper Excuse; you have told me nothing of the Addresses which your Beauty must have every where attracted, and therefore the Credit I afford your Silence ought to derive the like to mine. To speak freely, I believe our Coolness hath had but one Cause. The Impression your Charms made on my Heart, join'd to the ill-omen'd Events which follow'd it, gave me I know not what Prejudice to the Ladies, and hindered me from reaping those Advantages from their Conversation in my Travels which I might otherwise have done. Believe me, Madam, I look upon this to be an Injury for which you are accountable to me, and which you can only repair by making me happy in your self. All Prejudices of this Sort deprive a Man of the highest Pleasure Converse with the World affords: There is a certain dry Gravity attendant on the Discourses of Men of Sense, which disgusts, though the parting with it would introduce a Levity far more disgustful; but with the Ladies it is otherwise; they animate Conversation with an innocent

nocent Liveliness, more effectually prevalent against Spleen than all the Wisdom in the World. To Men a Man submits from Custom and a Principle of good Manners, which like the Homage paid to a Usurper, is accompanied with a secret and unextinguishable Regret ; but Regard for Women is the Dictate of Nature, and like the Duty paid to a natural Prince, issues from the Fullness of our Hearts, and is scarce received with so much Pleasure as it is given.

I AM obliged to you, replied *Lucia*, for these Compliments ; but since you have mentioned *Italian Love-Stories*, permit me to give you a short Account of one, the Particulars of which fell under my own Cognizance ; and the Son of the unhappy Lady whom it concerns was your Predecessor in these Lodgings. I told her that I should be very glad to hear any thing that might be depended upon, because the *Italian Wits* having a fruitful Invention, and being also naturally fond of surprising incredible Adventures, I had not hitherto given much Faith to many of the Stories I had heard.

I believe you are not much in the Wrong, continued *Lucia* ; but upon what I assert in Respect to my Story you may depend ; as to the less important Circumstances, you may judge as you please ; and the whole will leave you such a Field for Conjecture, that your Faith will not be at all over-burthen'd by the Load my Credit will bind upon it.

LUCRETIA Dondo was a Lady whose Beauty, though it distinguished her from all the Women in *Padua*, was very far inferior to her Virtue, and to the amiable Qualities of her Mind. Her Cheerfulness, which was the Effects of her Innocency, made her always agreeable

greeable to others ; and the Tranquility of her own Life was such, that as she always seemed, so she was always perfectly easy and well pleased.

THE Marquis of *Orciano* fell in Love with her, and marry'd her when she was very young. Her Parents laid no Restraint on her Choice, though they had recommended one Signior *Lorenzo*, who was also deeply in Love with her. The Lady, in Consequence of the Liberty left her, made Choice of the Marquis, though before and after her Marriage, she always spoke of Signior *Lorenzo*, in Terms of very high Esteem. Eighteen Years this Couple lived together with all the outward Appearance of Content ; several Children they had, the eldest a hopeful Youth, who had prosecuted his Studies with great Applause, and who to the Love of Books joined also a suitable Affection for all such Things as it became a Gentleman to know.

As for *Lucretia*, the gentleness of her Manners, her spotless Character, her artless inoffensive Conduct, made her the Darling and Delight of all *Padua*. The Men spoke of her in Raptures, the Ladies held her the Honour of their Sex, and Signior *Lorenzo* persevering in his romantick Gallantry, affected to admire her now no less than when she was single. It happened that the Marquis of *Orciano* had Occasion to make a Journey to this City, and in his Absence the poor Lady fell a Victim, whether to Lust or Jealousy, none can tell.

THE Night after her Husband's Departure, her Son hearing her give a violent Shriek, jumped out of Bed, and ran to her Chamber-Door, which opening upon him, somebody came out, pushed him over the Stairs, besmearing

besmearing his Face with his Mother's Blood, and so went out. The Servants alarmed, and bringing Lights, the Lady was found half out of Bed, with three Stabs on her Left Breast, two of which were held to be mortal. She was not quite dead, but speechless, and unable to give any Account who was the Author of her Death.

SIGNIOR *Lorenzo* being proved to have walked frequently under her Windows, was apprehended, and put to the Torture; which he sustained with incredible Firmness of Mind, acknowledged it the just Reward of his Folly, but declaring that he knew not any Thing of *Lucretia's* Murder, though he might be the innocent and involuntary Author of it. This Expression occasioned new Suspicions; Signior *Lorenze* was discharged, and the Marquis of *Orciano* imprisoned in his Stead. He proved himself here at *Venice* on the Night of the Commission of the Fact, and was thereupon discharged.

A while after some of the Servants put it into the Son's Head, that Signior *Lorenzo* was both the Murderer of his Mother, and the Assassin of his Father's Reputation. The Youth unfortunately mention'd it to some of his Fellow Students, who far from moderating the ill Impressions he had received, exhorted him as a Man of Honour to take Vengeance of the Enemy of his Family.

THE poor young Gentleman, thus misled, hired certain *Bravo's* to assist him in his Enterprize, which succeeded but too well; for surprizing Signior *Lorenzo* as he came from Mass, they shot him in the Street; some Gentlemen, who were with him, pursued and kill'd two of the Murderers, but the young *Orciano* escaped, and for some Time lived privately here.

HE

HE seemed to be a very well-inclined young Man, but a little disturbed in his Head ; however, being known, and proclaimed a *Banditto* at *Padua*, he was forced to fly, and is now at *Rome*. His Father leads a very disconsolate Life, having never been able to clear himself from the Suspicions brought upon him by this unfortunate Affair : To perpetuate, however, the Memory of so excellent a Person, the Government of *Padua* have in their Hall of Justice erected a Statue of the amiable *Lucretia*, with a suitable Inscription.

AFTER some Reflections on this melancholly Story, I observed to *Lucia*, that I was certainly a little unlucky in my Lodgings, since the House I lived in at *Geneva* belonged to the Grandson of a Man whose Adventure had not only made himself remarkable, but was at every Turn brought up on the Mention of any of his Family. *Lucia* desired to be acquainted with it ; and though the Story was common, I gave her an Account of it, having formerly set it down in my Diary as a Proof of this Observation. That Vice is ever productive of Misery ; and that such have Reason to be well pleased with their Situation, who distinguish the Hand of God in their Punishments in this World. The Instance was this.

THE Hero of this History was a Native of *Rimini*, a City in the *Papal* Territory, and a very accomplished Gentleman, his Name was Signior *Pandolfo*. He had served some Years in the *French* King's Armies, and with Reputation. He resided some time afterwards at *Rome*, but finding, that though his Mind had improved, his Estate had been impaired by so many Years Absence, he retired to *Rimini*, resolving to pass the Remainder of his Years in his native Soil. He was then about *thirty*
six,

fix, and as active and sprightly as when a Lad. It so fell out that his House joined to that of an old Gentleman who had married a young Wife, the Daughter of a Man of great Quality, though but mean Fortune.

SIGNIOR *Pandolfo* had not been long at home e'er this Lady cast her Eyes upon him. She was a Woman addicted to Pleasure, and without any Regard either to the Laws of Honour or Religion. She made therefore no manner of Scruple of acquainting Signior *Pandolfo* with her Kindness for him; and he, much too fine a Gentleman to feel any Restraint from Conscience, contrived a Method for their better Acquaintance, by breaking a Passage into her Maid's Chamber, whence he was easily conducted to her's.

BUT to prevent all Possibility of Surprize, the Lady caused several Holes to be bored in a very large Chest, where she kept her choicest Clothes and her Jewels, which was all the Fortune she brought her Husband, that upon any Emergency *Pandolfo* might be lock'd up therein, and yet not suffer for Want of Air.

THINGS went on in this Course for about two Years, when the Lady fell dangerously ill. Finding her End approach, she would needs take Leave of *Pandolfo*; but in the Midst of this Interview, hearing her Husband coming, he was forced to betake himself to his Chest, in which he had not lain long before he heard the Lady address herself in these Words. *My tenderly loving and much beloved Lord, I find Life retiring; gratify me in one Request dying, to whom living you denied nothing.* Speak, said the good old Man, and be assured, that whatever you ask shall be granted. *Let then,* said she, *that Chest be set upon my Coffin without any Body's being suffered to look in it.* *It shall be so,* replied the Husband.
Presently

Presently, some of her Relations came to visit her, and in a couple of Hours she expired.

As her Distemper was a kind of malignant Fever, it was resolved to bury her about Midnight of the next Day, which was accordingly done, and the Chest, unopened, placed upon her Coffin in the Vault where she was interr'd. Before her Amour with Signior *Pandolfo*, she had shewn some Marks of Favour to her Husband's Page, who had thereby an Opportunity of seeing the Jewels that were in her Chest. This Man conceiving that such Things were of little Use to the Dead, went to the Sexton, and having promised him and his Son a Share in the Booty, prevailed on them to take a Share in the Enterprize of searching the Chest.

SIGNIOR *Pandolfo*, in the mean time, gave himself up for dead, and besought the Almighty to pardon him his manifold Sins, and to suffer them to be expiated by this cruel Punishment. Such were his Meditations when he heard the Door of the Vault open, and soon after found them tampering about the Lock of the Chest. Conceiving thereupon a sudden Hope of Deliverance, he pushed back the Spring of the Lock, and throwing up the Lid of the Chest, started up all at once.

THE Thieves, supposing it was the Devil come to punish them for their sacrilegious Attempt, fled without looking behind them. *Pandolfo* having put as many of the Jewels as he thought fit into his Pockets, went and hid himself in a private Part of the Church 'till Morning, and then retired to his own House secretly. His Son, for he afterwards married, being a Priest in the fortieth Year of his Age, retired to *Geneva*, where he became a

Protestant, married a young Woman, and left a numerous Family.

THE Evening began now to wear apace, and *Lucia* at length took her Leave, with a Promise of giving me another Visit in two or three Days. In the Intervals between her Visits I diverted myself with seeing whatever was curious in *Venice*; the *Duke's* Palace, the *Arsenal*, the Church of *St. Mark*, and many other Places; which as Books inspired me with a Curiosity of examining, so they left me little of Novelty to treasure up amongst my own observations. Some Remarks, however, I did make, and in the Number, these.

THE *Venetian* Commerce, which is now little spoken of, deserves the Attention of *Foreigners*; and the Liberty of *Venice*, which is excessively cry'd up, hath indeed very little in it, or to speak with greater Propriety, is itself nothing at all. This may seem very strange, but it is notwithstanding very true. For, in the first place, the Duke himself is a *Slave*; he hath, it is true, a fine *Palace*, and when he goes abroad doth it in much State, but then this State reflects Honour only on the *Republick*; and as to the Palace, he is in fact a Prisoner in it, having Counsellors continually about him who pry into all his Actions, and from whom he neither can, nor dare keep any Thing.

ON the other hand, the Nobility dare not converse with *Foreigners*, especially of Distinction, for fear of rendering themselves obnoxious to the State. Many of these Noblemen, notwithstanding they boast so much of their Honours, go about to Stranger's Lodgings, and beg of them privately with very great Humility; nay, some of them

them will do this who live in good Credit, keep handsome Houses, Servants, and *Gondolas*.

As to the People, they are the farthest from enjoying *Liberty*, taking that Word in a just and proper Sense, of any in the World. As for their Coin, it rises and falls two or three Times in a Month ; many of the poorer Noblemen go into Shops and buy what they think fit, send it home, and pay for it at the *Greek Kalends*, that is, *never* ; he from whom they take it neither daring to refuse them *Credit*, nor demand his Debt when he has given it them.

As for Strangers, they may do what they please, so they meddle not with the State, the smallest Offence against which meets with the quickest and severest Punishment. It is indeed a very glorious City in all Respects, and very far richer than in the northern Parts of *Europe*, we are apt to think. It is about eight Miles in Extent, contains not less than seventy Churches, sixty Religious Houses, the one half for Men, the other for Women, between four and five hundred Bridges, and at least ten thousand *Gondolas* or *Boats*, which are very convenient, and which they manage with great Dexterity.

IN the few Weeks Stay I made at *Venice*, I had many Interviews with *Lucia*, all at my own Lodgings, whither she came under Colour of visiting a Lady who lived there likewise. She said she had Reasons for my not visiting her at home ; and indeed what she alledged on this Head was very reasonable, *viz.* That we could not talk freely there, and that it would have rendered it impossible for her to have visited so frequently, and so long as she did at the House where I lodged. The Issue

of these Interviews was, that we should return together to *England*, and that after being privately married, she would, by her Brother-in-Law's Interest, procure me a Pardon, which would have put me in a Condition to have dealt with my perfidious Cousin.

H E R Fortune in Possession and Reversion might amount to between fourteen and fifteen hundred Pounds; and if this Project, which either was, or Love made me believe was practicable, had been carried into Execution, we might have lived comfortably enough, our Tempers suiting at least as well as most of those who make Bargains for Life. But first of all it was necessary that I should return to *Geneva*, and settle all my Affairs there; which, however, was not to be gone about, 'till I had received Mr. *Hales*'s Answer.

T H I S arrived at the End of the Space I mentioned, and contained in Substance, that my Cousin was very much surprized at his Correspondent's Letter; and tho' he found nothing among his Father's Papers to warrant most of the Facts stated therein, yet, for the Sake of Peace, and to shew his honest Inclinations, he was content to pay me a thousand Chequins, provided I would sign an Agreement to make no farther Demands in three Years, in which Space all his Father's Affairs, he hoped, would be thoroughly settled.

Mr. *Hales* advised me to accept of this Proposal; and indeed I thought it very reasonable my self; so I signed the necessary Papers, and received the Money.

W H E N there was nothing to hinder my setting out for *Geneva*, I made the necessary Preparations for it, and the Evening preceeding my Departure, had a long tender Interview with *Lucia*, to whom at her going
away

away I presented a Ring set after the *Turkish* manner, that is enigmatically. It consisted of a large Sapphire perforated, a Diamond filling up the Middle, the whole surrounded with Rubies, which according to the Language of oriental Gallantry, is thus explained.

THE Rubies which first salute the Eye, signify a strong and ardent Passion; the Sapphire represents Fidelity; both of which are insinuated to be everlasting in their Nature by the Diamond: Alluding to a *Turkish* Verse, which literally render'd, runs thus,

My faithful Love shall ever last.

Lucia gave me a square Gold Box, in the Lid of which was her own Picture. Our parting struck me with a deep Melancholy, but she either was not, or did not seem to me so much affected.

I LEFT with her Directions how to write to me, and settled likewise a Correspondence with my Landlady. I proposed to return to *Venice* in five or six Weeks, and I paid for the Lodgings before-hand for that Time. Such is the Confidence of Man, who knows not where he shall live or lodge on the Morrow. It would be Labour lost for me to go about to describe the heaviness of Mind, the Dejection of Spirit, the Irresolution of Heart, which attended this Separation. I am almost ashamed when I recollect, that the great Source of all this was neither more nor less than a Dream.

It happened the Night before my taking Leave of *Lucia*, and in few Words was this: I thought myself in a large Meadow, with a Bow and Arrow in my

Hand; at a considerable Distance I saw a Pillar, to which a white Escutcheon was affixed, and on the Top of the Pillar stood a large Goblet of Gold; I shot with a single Arrow, and fixed it in the Escutcheon; but when I went to take down the Goblet which I supposed I had won, I found a deep, tho' narrow River in my Way, too rapid to think of swimming over, and for crossing which, I could not see either Bridge or Ford except at a very great Distance down the Stream, so that going thither and coming round on the other Side, seemed an endless Undertaking.

I TOLD this to *Lucia*, who smiled at it. The Impressions said she of our waking Thoughts, amuse us in our Sleep. I too have dreamt, and my Dream corresponds with yours. But what Wonder is it our Thoughts correspond? Those who suffer themselves to be deluded by the Shadows of Things, are frequently deprived of the Substance, and then impute to the Malice of Fortune, what in Truth proceeded from their own Folly. This appeared to me so sententious, so different from *Lucia's* manner of speaking, and so apposite to the Subject, that in that Instant I despised my own Weakness, and so far banished all Thoughts of my Dream, that I never asked *Lucia* how it resembled hers. But afterwards it recurr'd with its first Force to my Remembrance, and like the Vision of *Brutus*, rid my Imagination so strongly, that I could never throw it of, by Reason, Philosophy, or Religion. But enough of these vain Things.

THERE was nothing of any Moment happened in my Return to *Geneva*, where *Johnson* had managed every Thing with great Prudence and Circumspection.

I gave him an Account of all that had passed at *Venice*, and of my Intention to return to *England*, with which he was mighty well pleased; and on my enquiring how long he thought it might be before our Affairs would be so well settled, as to admit of my Return to *Venice*, he demonstrated to me, that it could not take up less than six Weeks or two Months; for as all the several Threads which my former Occasions had obliged me to spin, were now to be wound upon one Bottom, the Operation would not admit of a Lover's Haste, without breaking most, if not all of them.

PATIENCE therefore was absolutely necessary, and I began to frame to myself many Schemes of Amusement, till my Business could be brought into such Order, as suited the Project upon which I was Intent. At Mr. *Roland's* particularly, I spent a great Part of my Time, and laid out a considerable Sum of Money in compleating a Cabinet of Curiosities by his Directions. I flattered myself that these would not turn to my Loss on my coming back to *England*, and in the Prosecution of my Design, I happened to purchase a fine *Onyx* from Signior *Pucci* an *Italian*. Tho' these People are not very communicative, yet in several Visits he made me, I did him so many Courtesies, especially in presenting him with a Book of Drawings, which had fallen into my Hands by Chance, that by Degrees I became much in his Favour, and he seemed disposed to deny me nothing in his Power.

MR. *Roland* had told me, that this Man, who was very rich, was reputed to have a Secret for clearing all sorts of precious Stones of Clouds and Milkinesses. Amongst other Jewels I had a very large white Saphyr,

which I bought at *Venice* for twenty Ducats, tho' had it been perfectly clear, it would have been worth ten Times that Money. This Stone I one Day shew'd to Signior *Pucci*, and told him frankly that I had heard he could make it perfectly bright.

At first he was a little confused, but when he had recollected himself, he told me he was pleas'd with my frank manner of speaking, and that since I had oblig'd him, it was but reasonable he should oblige me. Accordingly he took the Stone, and in a Fortnight returned it perfect. When he gave it me, he address'd himself to me in these Words: You must certainly be very much surpriz'd at what you see, it will doubtless convince you of an Error you may have been in ; I mean believing such an Operation as this impossible ; but have a Care of falling into another Mistake, *viz.* an Opinion that this may be done by all sorts of Stones, which so far as my Notion reaches, is impracticable. My Secret came to me by Chance, the Skill of using it by deep Observation and long Experience. I know, generally speaking, what I can perform, and where it would countervail the Expence ; this hath turned to my Advantage ; my Secret in the Hands of a rash and avaricious Man, instead of enriching, would destroy his Substance ; and he would then charge that upon the Operation, which he ought to have charged on his own want of Judgment. If you have any Stones by you in which I can do you the same Kindness, I shall very freely serve you.

ABOUT a Fortnight after my Return to *Geneva*, I was much surpriz'd on my coming from Church, to find Mr. *Fetherstone* in my Lodgings, from whom I had
not

not heard for some Time. We embraced each other, and when he had refreshed himself with Chocolate, he gave me the Detail of his Misfortunes.

He said his Affairs went on perfectly well, and that he was worth a considerable Sum of Money when his Ruin broke upon him like a Cloud big with Lightning, which blasted all his Hopes. He told me that in the Year 1657, he had some Acquaintance with a Person who had lived in *Holland*, and had a Pension from *John de Wit*, who was known by the Name of *M. St. Marcelle*. This Person did him some very considerable Services, and would accept of no sort of Gratification.

Mr. Fetherstone in the Course of ten Years had almost forgot him, when a Person came to him one Day on the *Exchange* at *Rouen*, and presented him a Letter signed *St. Marcelle*. The Purport of the Letter was, that the Bearer would deliver him a Pacquet, addressed to a Person of Distinction at *Paris*, which he desired might be sent by a special Messenger, and that he would be pleased to give the Person who brought these Letters, what he thought a reasonable Compensation for bringing them from *Diepe*.

Mr. Fetherstone having received the Pacquet, gave the Person five Pistoles, and sent the Letters by his Servant to *Paris*. About six Months after, it was discovered that this *St. Marcelle* either was engaged, or pretended to be engaged in a Design against the *French King's* Life. Upon this, the Person to whom his Letter was addressed, was conducted to the *Bastile*; and a Person sent to apprehend *Mr. Fetherstone* at *Rouen*, who missed him but accidentally, and who conceiving that
he

he was fled, made a precipitate Discovery of his Errand, of which when Mr. *Fetherstone* had Advice, he thought it very expedient to fly in earnest.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Confusion this Step brought on his Affairs, he found Means to prevent any Body's being a Loser by this Mischance but himself, whose whole Fortune by this Means was reduced to the narrow Compass of a Hundred Pistoles, or thereabouts. A melancholy Revolution this, and one that would certainly have overturned the Understanding of a Man of less Firmness; but for Mr. *Fetherstone*, he supported himself under it with a *Roman* Constancy, and comforted himself, by repeating often this Saying, *That the Character of an honest Man was an Estate which Fortune could not take away.*

THIS Gentleman had not been long at *Geneva* before he discovered an old Acquaintance of his, whose Name was *Alonzo Perez*. He had been a Merchant at *Seville*, and Mr. *Fetherstone* had frequently Bills drawn upon him. By Degrees they entered into a closer Acquaintance, and *Perez* entrusted Mr. *Fetherstone* with the Care of some Jewels of very great Value, which he sent over into *England*. His Appearance at *Geneva* was very indifferent, which mightily surprized my Friend, who had known him a very considerable Man in the richest City of *Spain*.

P E R E Z quickly explained to him the Cause of his leaving his Country, and the Means by which his Fortune had been reduced, both the Mischiefs flowing from the same Source, which was this. The Uncle of *Perez*, who had given 18000 Crowns for the Title of *Marquiss* to the King of *Spain*, and who had been for
many

many Years Farmer of part of his Catholic Majesty's Revenues, was suddenly apprehended by the *Holy Office*, on a Suspicion, as it was supposed, of *Judaism*, which so terrified his Nephew, that tho' he had acquired a great Estate, and was on the Point of being married to a rich Heiress; yet he chose to leave all behind him, and by the Favour of an *English* Vessel escaped to *Genoa*.

THERE he received a Bill of a thousand Pistoles; but the Day after, having Notice that the *Spanish* Government would leave no Means unessay'd, in order to bring him back; finding also great and visibly affected Delays in such as ought to have delivered him the rest of his Effects in that City, he thought himself no longer safe there; and therefore withdrew as expeditiously as he could to *Geneva*, where he lived in very great Privacy, and was not a little pleased to find there so faithful a Friend as Mr. *Fetherstone*.

To him he communicated all his Affairs, and particularly informed him, that his Diamonds having been sold in *England* to a Person in great Authority during the Interregnum, his Correspondent had informed him, that he was very apprehensive the Money would be lost. Mr. *Fetherstone* advised him not to despair, and promised him that he would make Use of the few Friends he had to serve him in this ticklish Business.

It was not long before Mr. *Fetherstone* introduced his old Friend to me; and as *Perez* was a Man of mighty good Sense, much Learning, and great Experience, tho' not above forty Years old, I was extremely taken with him; the rather because he had a strong Tincture of amorous Madness, and talked as much of his Mistress at *Seville*, as I thought of mine at *Venice*.

ONE Thing in his Conduct seem'd to me inexplicable, he had always liv'd in *Spain* like a good *Catholic*, he had fled from thence on an Apprehension that he was suspected of *Judaism*, here at *Geneva*, he was a regular *Calvinist*, and behaved so well, that no Body doubted of his Religion. My Curiosity on this Head got the better of my good Manners, and I could not help intimating to him one Day, that I wondered he was not tired with the length and Vehemence of a certain Dominican's Sermons, who having quitted his Order, and abjured the Errors of the Church of *Rome*, declaimed against them with a never ceasing Vivacity.

PEREZ could not avoid smiling at my Question, for he immediately penetrated the Drift of it. My Friend, said he, you have a Mind to know my Religion, come we are not in *Spain* ! I will therefore tell you my Sentiments freely, I have a Religion of my own, the first Article of which is, that I confide in God's Mercy.

I AM a *Christian*, but as I am descended of the House of *Israel*, I think myself obliged to observe the *Mosaic Rites*, which I believe to have a perpetual Obligation, because I think them perpetually rational. As to Popery or Protestantism, tho' I have comply'd with both, I acknowledge neither, for I am truly a *Catholic*, holding those Principles fundamental in Religion wherein all Christians are agreed ; and supposing that I may follow the *Mosaic Rites* without Danger of Salvation, because they were observed by the *Messiah* and his *Apostles*, from the same Motive as I apprehend which inclines me to them, *viz.* My Descent from *Jacob*, and my Conviction of Mind, that they are perfectly reasonable.

sonable. These, Sir, are the Articles of my Faith, from which I believe I shall never depart, and for which the Inquisition without doubt would have put me to Death without Mercy.

I LOOK'D upon myself to be very much oblig'd to the Gentleman for this Act of Confidence ; for tho' as he observed, there was no Inquisition at *Geneva*, yet it is very certain, the Magistrates would have look'd upon a Man who held such Opinions as these in a very bad Light, as is apparent from their punishing *Servetus* with Death, for hammering out a System not very wide of this of *Perez*.

I DID not fail to give my Friend the strongest Assurances, that nothing he said to me should ever prejudice him here or any where else ; upon which he opened himself very freely on many Subjects; especially the number of *Jews* in *Spain*, which he affirmed to be very great ; adding, that the Superstition of the People, and the Immorality of the Priests, were the grand Obstacles to their Conversion ; the Practice of the former placing the Exteriors of Christianity in a very bad Light, and the latter inducing a Suspicion that those who were most zealous for its Propagation, were least inclined to the Belief of its Doctrines, since their Lives and their Lessons were so diametrically opposite.

WHILE I was amusing myself with my Friends at *Geneva*, till such Time as I could bring together all my Effects, which by engaging in several little Branches of Traffick, were pretty much scatter'd, I wrote, and receiv'd constantly Letters from *Venice*, till such Time as I informed *Lucia* that my Affairs would be wholly adjusted in a Fortnight ; and therefore intreated her by the
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next Conveyance, to send me whatever Commands she would have executed before my Return to that City. But as it often happens, having suffered *Hope* to cast up this Account, there was a very considerable *Error* in the *Calculation*; for after three Weeks Disappointment of Money from *Lyons* on the one Hand, and of Letters from *Venice* on the other, I found myself still at a Loss, as to fixing the Day of my Departure.

IN this Situation I was, when a Letter from my Landlord at *Venice* Thunder struck me at once. It ran in a Stile of high Resentment for my having carried on, as he expressed it, a very suspicious Correspondence at his House with a married Woman; that a Week before Mrs. ———'s Brother and Husband had arrived, with whom she was sailed for *England*. The Evening before her Departure, she sent, as he acquainted me, a Letter for me, enclosed in one for his Wife, which she entreated might be carefully transmitted me; because she was afraid it would be a long Time before an Opportunity would offer of writing to me again; but as he thought it a great Indignity put on his Wife, he had commanded her to burn it in his Presence, which she had accordingly done; he concluded with desiring me to trouble him with no more Letters, and if I came again to *Venice*, not to find the Way to his House.

THE oddness of the Matter, and the Rudeness of its Form, made this Letter appear to me in the Light of a Sentence of Destruction; it took from me all Hopes at present, and not only so, but in some sort deprived me of all Expectancy of Hope, a Circumstance which sunk me below even a Slave at *Algiers*. I determined
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however to conceal this Misfortune as carefully as if it had been a Crime, and notwithstanding the Treatment I had received, to write in Terms the most pressing, and the most moving, it was in my Power to invent, to Mr. *Busbell*, with a View to the procuring a thorough Insight into this dark Affair. Accordingly that very Evening I wrote near a Sheet of Paper in the first flow of my Distraction, and in a Tenderness of Stile and Thought, which I never remember but with Regret.

TILL I could receive an Answer, I determined to exert the utmost Force of my Philosophy, in preserving such an Evenness of Temper, as might not only keep my Secret from being known, but from being suspected, even by *Johnson*, who knew my Disposition, and the Situation of my Affairs so very well.

THE better to succeed in this Scheme, I sent to invite my Friend *Perez* to come and pass a Day with me, which he very readily did, having already formed in his Mind that Project to which he afterwards procured my Consent. He came in the Morning, and till Dinner we diverted ourselves with looking over some Medals and other Curiosities, which I was packing up in Cases; and after Dinner was over, we fell upon the Affairs of *Spain*, when Mr. *Fetherstone* who dined with us, took this Occasion to ask Mr. *Perez* some Questions, as to the Conduct of the Inquisition. This insensibly turned the Conversation altogether upon that Head; and what our Friend, who was born a *Spaniard* said thereon, made on me so great an Impression, that after my Company were gone, I amused myself till late in the Night, with setting down the Substance of what I learned; to which I was the rather inclined, because

cause there was scarce any Subject of which in the Course of my Life I had heard more, or understood less : The Protestants generally speaking, declaiming in the most violent Terms against the Injustice and Barbarity of the Inquisition ; while on the other Hand, most Catholicks decline speaking on that Head, or else endeavour to apologize for the *Holy Office*, by denying most of the Facts alledged against it, and by dressing in the best Colours possible, the grand Argument in its Favour. *The preserving the Purity of the Faith, and preventing the Peace of Society from being disturbed by religious Fars.*

THE Inquisition was established in most of the Provinces of *Spain*, towards the Close of the fifteenth Century, by the Power of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, who were directed in the Affair by Cardinal *Torquemada*, a Man of enthusiastic Resolution, and who had such an Ascendancy over the Spirit of the Queen, that he engaged her to carry his Projects into Execution, maugre all Opposition.

PHILIP II. who had a strong Prejudice to his Father's Memory, suffered the Inquisition to proceed not only against the Archbishop of *Toledo*, and two of the deceased Emperor's Chaplains, but also to form a Process against the late *Charles* V. as a Favourer of Hereticks, and who had been suspected of Heresy himself. His Son *Don Carlos*, his natural Brother *Don John*, the Prince of *Parma*, and some other Persons of great Quality, took Fire at this, and expressed their Resentments a little too openly. The Consequence was, that the King by fair Means and much Intercession,

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procured the Process on the Emperor's Will to be staid, though he suffered one of his Chaplains to be burnt alive, together with the Bones of the other, the Archbishop of *Toledo* saving himself by an Appeal to *Rome*.

As for the Princes, they were for the present obliged to retire from Court, and the Inquisition pursued them with unrelenting Hatred to the last Hour of their Lives. Sanctifying the Death of *Don Carlos* by their Decree, and acting on all other Occasions with such Fierceness, that King *Philip*, with all his Policy and Resolution, had much ado to restrain them within any Bounds.

FROM the Time of his Death, having had less able Princes to deal with, they have push'd their Authority still farther, and have presumed not only to censure, but to punish Kings of *Spain*, while on the Throne. As for Instance, *Philip III.* who having been so far moved by the Cries of the Condemned, at an *Auto de Fe*, as to say, *How hard for Men to die for their Belief, a Thing which they cannot help !* The Inquisitor General being informed of it, sent to acquaint him, that the Holy Office expected Satisfaction ; nor would he desist till the King consented to have some Ounces of his Blood drawn from his Arm, which the Executioner of the *Holy Office* threw into the Fire before the Inquisitor-General, and his Officers.

IN *Portugal* they formed a Process against the Infant *Don Juan* ; but their Behaviour towards the Duke of *Braganza*, after he assumed the Regal Dignity, was still more extraordinary. He was call'd *John* the IVth ; and as he owed his Crown to the People, so there never lived a Prince who was more truly the Father of his People. On this Account he was no great Friend to the Inqui-

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fition. The Practice of the Holy Office in seizing at once the Person, and the Effects of those whom they suspected, seem'd to him not only unjust and unreasonable; but even highly prejudicial to the State. He therefore published an Edict, whereby he positively forbid all such Confiscations for the future.

THE *Holy Office* therefore apply'd themselves to the *Pope*, who thought fit to redress what they call'd a Grievance, though he refused, notwithstanding the most pressing Instances of his most Christian, as well as his *Portuguese* Majesty, to furnish *Portugal*, or any of its Dominions with Bishops, though for Want of them the People were in Danger of becoming *Heathens*. The Relief he gave the *Inquisitors* was this: He by a *Brief* directed the former Method of Confiscation to take Place, declaring, that whoever oppos'd it, should stand excommunicated *ipso facto*.

THE *Inquisitors*, as soon as they had this *Brief*, went directly with it to the King, whom they met on his Return from Chapel. When he had read the *Brief*, he demanded of them to whose Use they pretended to convert the Goods of their Prisoners; they answered, to his Majesty's Use. Very well, said the King; then let the *Brief* be punctually obeyed; direct your Officers, when they seize, to make always exact Inventories of those which you say are to be my Goods, and let them deliver them together with the Goods themselves, to my *Assignees*, whom I declare to be the next of Kin, to the Prisoners; and my Pleasure is, that they enjoy them as a Gift from the Crown. While the King lived, they durst not dispute his Orders; but as soon as he expired, the *Inquisitors* told the Queen, and the Infants *Alphonso*
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and *Peter*, that his Majesty had incurr'd the Guilt of Excommunication, and could not be buried till they thought fit to absolve the *Dead Body*, which they did in the Presence of the Queen and Royal Family, with much Solemnity.

THE Means by which the *Holy Office* maintain so absolute a Dominion in *Spain* and *Portugal*, are these. First, their being supported on all Occasions by the Papal Authority, which on the other Hand is exceedingly fortify'd by the Authority of the Inquisition. Secondly, by the Holy Office retaining such a Number of *Informers* under the Title of *Familiars*, who are Men of all Professions, and many of them of the highest Rank. Thirdly, the Ascendency they maintain over the Minds of the common People, who from their Cradles are imbued with such a Reverence, and such an enthusiastick Passion for the Service of this awful Tribunal, that it gets the better of all Sentiments of Religion and Honour, nay, even of that Tenderness which seems natural to the human Species.

As all the *Tribunals* of the *Inquisition* correspond with, and are subject to the *Congregation* of the *Holy Office* at *Rome*, it follows that the *Roman See* naturally protects these zealous and devoted Promoters of her Interest. To say the Truth, this is one of the fundamental Maxims of the *Roman Policy*; and without it, it is impossible to form any Idea how not only the Catholick Religion, but such a blind Devotion for the Papal Decrees as reigns at present in *Spain* and *Portugal*, could have been kept up, especially if we observe the Temper and Disposition of these People, who are as knowing, as thinking, and at

the same time at least as proud as any of their Neighbours.

THAT this is not Conjecture, but a Judgment established on Facts, will appear from comparing the Credit of the *Pope* with the Power of the Inquisition; for wherever we find the latter great, we shall find the former indisputed, whereas in Countries where there is no Inquisition, or where its Power is very much circumscribed, the papal Authority is also kept within pretty strait Bounds, even though the Prince and People are zealous Roman Catholics.

IT cannot but seem strange, that Men in good Circumstances, and of good Families, nay, even Men of Quality, should enlist themselves as Informers; but they have their Reasons, and such as in those Countries appear far from contemptible. For first, they stand themselves exempt from all Fear of Informations; they enjoy an extraordinary Liberty, and have also a large Measure of Authority through their Interest with the Inquisitors. Again, they are privileged Persons, and cannot be proceeded against in any other Court than that of the Inquisition, let them do what they will, Murder not excepted. And though for very atrocious Crimes the Inquisitors will vouchsafe to commit them to Prison, and even to sentence them to perpetual Imprisonment, yet that does not hinder their being found at five hundred Miles Distance from their Prison-Gates; the *Holy Office* claiming a Power of being as extravagantly indulgent to its own Creatures, as it is superabundantly severe towards such as fall under its Displeasure. Lastly, the Familiars of the Inquisition are extremely well rewarded for their Services out of the Effects of Heretics; for though it is pretend-

pretended that these are confiscated for other Purposes, yet it is certain that the Office divides the greatest Part of them amongst its Attendants.

As to the Ascendency which the Inquisition maintains over the Minds of the People, it is undoubtedly one of the most strange and unintelligible Things in the World; it is as if a Flock of Sheep should be suborned to assist three or four Wolves in destroying their Fellows; it is as if Men could be wrought on by some Kind of Sorcery, to assist at the Immolation of some of their Fellow Creatures to an infernal Spirit; but still, as it is an indubitable Fact, we must admit it, how little soever we can account for it.

My Friend *Perez* assured me, that in *Portugal*, where *Auto de Fe's* are more common than in *Spain*, the People not only willingly assist at the most cruel Executions, but do it with a frantick Kind of Joy, not to be described, and scarce to be imagined; perhaps after all, this very Joy may be excusable, since if we attentively consider it, we can scarce suppose the People are in their Senses. On the Whole it is certain, that there never was any Judicature so odious, or so terrible as the *Holy Office*.

P E R E Z had for his Rival a Person whose Brother was a *Familiar*; this Man asked one of *Perez's* Servants whether he had not seen his Master read *Abarbinel's* Commentary; this Question being reported to *Perez*, and he having compared it with other Circumstances, it induced him to leave *Spain*, and an Estate of near two hundred thousand Dollars. His Fears, however, were far from being ill grounded, for within *six* Hours after he quitted his House, it was invested by the Officers of

the Inquisition, who immediately possessed themselves of his Effects, and proceeded against him as a Person whose Flight had declared him guilty.

THE next Day I spent in adjusting all my Effects, being determined to quit the present Place of my Residence, though I had no particular Reason for so doing, neither knew I whither to go where I should be either better received, or live more at my Ease. In the Evening Mr. *Fetherstone* came and sat with me two or three Hours, in which Space we ran over a great Variety of Subjects, and I remember that he was particularly concerned at the Approach of old Age, before he had made any Provision for its Reception. He said, that when Want threatened, a Man ought by all Means to double his Industry, and instead either of reproaching Providence, or of pretending indolently to wait for Relief from thence, to shew a Disposition of meriting the divine Favour in the Way of natural Causes, without vainly expecting Miracles never wrought in Favour of the Lazy.

WHEN he took his Leave, he told me that Mr. *Perez*, who lived on the other Side of the River, desired that I would pass the next Day with him, having something of Importance to communicate to me. I readily accepted the Proposal, and promised to wait on him as soon as I came from Church. When Mr. *Fetherstone* was gone, and I had Time to ruminate on what he had said, I plainly discerned that his Mind was under some unusual Oppression, and that, not without struggling, it had delivered itself of these Reflections, which had either Reference to the Situation of his own Affairs or mine. With all my Industry, however, I could not penetrate the

the true Source of them ; and therefore, as I found my self little disposed to Rest, I resolved to apply his Reasoning to my Condition, in Order to form from thence some Judgment as to the Principles on which I ought to act in the future Conduct of my Life.

WITH such Speculations I amused, or rather wearied my Understanding, 'till at last I was ready to drop asleep, without being able, from all my Reflections, to form any more than this single Rule: That a Man, whose Fortune is in Disorder, should never suffer his Thoughts to be diverted from the Means of settling it, to the Consideration of the Methods of employing it when settled.

THE next Day I went according to my Appointment to the Apartment of my Friend *Perez*, where I found him and Mr. *Fetherstone* discoursing together on Chemistry, at which I was surprized, for 'till then I had never suspected that either of them knew any thing extraordinary of this Matter. Mr. *Fetherstone* seemed to make very light of the pretended Miracles of that Art.

HE said, that as to Medicines, he had observed the greatest Cures done by Simples, and the worst Accidents following from Drugs *chemically* prepared ; that as to the Curiosities of the Chemists, they served rather to divert and amuse Men, than to inform their Understandings ; and as to the Transmutation of Metals, he asserted, that Reason and Experience had convinced him of the Impossibility of the Thing, as well as of the Folly of those who converted real Wealth into Smoke in the endless Search of imaginary Treasure. He closed these Observations with a very shrewd Remark, *viz.* That the Professors of all other Sciences began with laying down Self-evident Truths, or at least such Maxims as

were easily shewn to be true, whereas the Chemists began they ended, with Dreams and Chimeras ; and instead of instructing their Pupils in the right Use of their Reason, endeavoured to deprive them of it, in order to fill their Heads with enthusiastic Notions without Foundation, Connection, or the smallest Appearance of Veracity.

OUR Friend *Perez*, who had really less Vehemence than is usually found in a *Spaniard*, could however scarce bear this with Patience. Chemistry, it seems, was his darling Study, and he was almost as passionately fond of it as of his Mistress. If I were not acquainted with you, Sir, said he, to Mr. *Fetherstone*, and did not greatly admire your good Sense in other Things, what you have said upon this Subject, would have given me a very wrong Idea of your Merit. Consider, my Friend, that every Science hath its Defamers. With the *Libertines*, the *Jewish*, *Christian*, and *Mohammedan* Divinity, seem all alike Fables. To the Wits, Mathematics is a dry, useless, and barren Sort of Knowledge. Poetry, and the *Belles Lettres*, are to Men of rigid Sentiments in all Communities, Trifles unworthy of Notice ; and, in short, we have known Men, who, like *Cornelius Agrippa*, have first sought to acquire Reputation by addicting themselves to universal Science, and have afterwards attempted to raise their Fame still higher by persuading the World that they had seen through all Sciences, and found them no better than mysterious Vanities. General Prejudices, Sir, prove nothing, because they prove too much ; and as to particular Observations, I am persuaded that Chemists have as much to say for themselves, as any other Tribe of learned Men. To them, Sir, Mankind owes most of those useful Inventions which are the
Boast

Boast of latter Ages, and which, as they were unknown, so they were un hoped for by the Antients. What you say of Amusements certainly does Honour to this Art, since Men of Sense are then only amused when they see Things atchieved, for which their Understandings can no way account. The Transmutation of Metals surpasses your Faith, but the most intelligent *Spaniards* readily admit it, not from Credulity, but Conviction. You must know, Sir, that such as are acquainted with the Method of refining the Silver at *Potosi* in *Peru*, unanimously confess that Art brings Nature to mature in a much shorter Time, that precious Metal, than she would otherwise, that is, without Assistance do ; and I my self can shew you an Experiment of a Silver Tree shooting out Branches of the same Metal from the bare Addition of Lead ; though, as you say, this is of the Tribe of Amusements, since it is so far from being attended with Profit, that the *Silver* might be bought at a cheaper Rate. However, this is not the Case at *Potosi*, and where it is the Case, it still proves the Possibility of Transmutation, which is nevertheless wonderful, nevertheless certain, for its being expensive.

MR. *Fetherstone*, either not knowing how to answer these Arguments, or which I rather believe, desirous of quitting a Topic that appeared disagreeable to his Friend, turned the Conversation, by addressing himself to me. Mr. *Perez*, said he, did not intend by this Invitation to disturb you with our Disputes, and therefore I take the Liberty of adjourning the Debate to some other Opportunity, when I shall have had more Leisure to consider and examine what he has at present advanced upon this Head. As I was extremely pleased with what
each

each of them had said, I would have had Mr. *Fetherstone* returned to the Charge, but Mr. *Perez* also declined it; he considered the last Expression of his Antagonist as a Mark of his being at present unprovided with Matter, and therefore from a *Spanish Puncto* refused to press him farther at this Time. Chocolate, therefore, was called for, and not a Word mention'd of Chemistry for that Day.

THE rest of the Morning was spent in talking of our several Adventures, which had this in common, that without any great Misdeed, each of us was become an *Exile*. *Perez* regretted nothing but the Loss of his Mistress, for the Dread of the Inquisition had extinguished in his Bosom all Love for his Country; so that without the Abolition of that Tribunal he could never frame a Wish of returning to *Spain*.

MR. *Fetherstone* observed that he was alike banished from *England* and from *France*, and from both by cross Accidents, or rather by Mistakes; yet, as he remark'd, it was easier to satisfy Strangers than one's own Countrymen; for, on his sending an Account to the *French* Court of the Manner by which Monsieur *St. Marcelle* became known to him, he was immediately informed that he might return in Safety, for that this unhappy Man had given the same Account both on his Examination and at the Time he suffered Death.

As to my self, I took Notice that I suffered for the Faults of my Father, which I took to be the harder, because at the Restoration all old Offences were washed away, and Those received into the highest Favour who had been deepest in those Measures which had driven the Royal Family abroad.

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OUR Dinner was slight, for our grand Repast was in the Evening ; and this being over, *Perez* desired Mr. *Fetherstone* to acquaint me with the Business on account of which he had desired my Company. For my Part, I had quite forgot what he had told me the Evening before, and was therefore a little surprized when *Perez* mentioned Business ; however, I joined with him in desiring Mr. *Fetherstone* to explain it to me, adding, that I should have been better pleased if it had been discussed in the Morning. *Perez* smiled, and said, it was a Thing would require both Evening and Morning Considerations ; and then Mr. *Fetherstone* taking the Discourse, proceeded thus :

MY Friend Mr. *Perez*, and I, had been for some Time considering of a certain Project offered us by a Gentleman in *France*, who is our common Patron ; and as we are now at the Point of entering on its Execution, we were unwilling either to keep it longer a Secret from you, or to refuse you a Share in it, if it shall appear in the same Light to you that it does to us. In few words then, our Friends proposed that we should make the Tour of a Part of the *Ottoman Empire*, beginning with *Egypt*, in order to collect Medals, Stones, Manuscripts, and other Curiosities, for which there never was so great a Demand as at present throughout all *Europe*, particularly in *Italy*, *France*, and *England*, where for genuine Relicks of Antiquity no Price whatsoever is held to be extravagant.

MR. *Fetherstone* making here a little Pause, I was going to speak. Stay Sir, said he, let me finish what I have farther to offer you upon this Subject, and you shall have Time enough to say what you please. You must
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not imagine Sir, that at this Season of Life I should be fond of seeking Adventures in unknown Parts of the World, if I had not a very probable Prospect of making myself easy, in Consequence of my going through such a Fatigue. I have a Friend at *Lyons*, who will lend me 200 Pistoles, I have another at *Marseilles*, who will furnish me with as much, what I have of my own will make up the Sum between five and six hundred; my Friend *Perez* will venture the like Capital, and we are well informed of the Goods in which our Money ought to be vested; we have likewise a Memorial, containing the fullest Instructions as to the Curiosities we are to purchase, we are neither of us unacquainted with these Things, and we have the strongest Recommendations to the *French* and *Venetian* Consuls; so that tho' at first Sight this Project may seem a little chimerical, yet it is in Truth as well founded, and will be as well supported as any Thing of its Nature can be. Our own Industry must indeed be the Sheet Anchor of our Hopes, and if we cannot depend upon ourselves, it is in vain for us to expect Success in this, or in any other Undertaking. As it is, my Fortune is Shipwreck'd, it can be no worse if I should be mistaken in my Conjectures as to the Project before us; whereas if Things go right, I shall be sure of passing the rest of my Days in quiet in *France* or in *Italy*, or it may be in *England*; for I am not of Opinion, that the Government there will always pursue the same Measures which they have hitherto done.

As for me, added *Perez*, I have such a Source of perpetual Disquiet in my own Bosom, that Rest is painful, and a State of Agitation only affords me Quiet,
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by rescuing me as it were from myself. It is this, full as much as any View of Profit, which hath determined me to take this Voyage. If I should not succeed I shall still have something left to preserve myself and my Friend here, from being quite quelled by the Frowns of Fortune, and as Time is the Parent of many strange Events, I cannot tell what, against our Return, it may bring forth ; perhaps some Accident as favourable to me as that was unfortunate, which drove me from my Family and my Hopes. You have heard our Project, and our Reasons for embracing it ; now Sir, if Similitude of Circumstances should incline you to take a Share with us in this Design, we shall have a better Opinion of it, and scarce entertain any Doubt of succeeding under your Auspice. It is impossible that you should resolve in a Moment ; it will be a Fortnight or three Weeks before we shall think of quitting this Place ; and therefore, if in eight or ten Days you will come to a Resolution, we shall hear it with Pleasure.

I THANK'D my Friends for this new Mark of their Confidence and Affection, promised to take the Matter into my Consideration, and to acquaint them with my final Resolution, within the Space of twelve or fourteen Days. I desired Leave however, to ask the Advice of certain Persons, whom I took to be proper Judges of an Affair of this Nature, declaring at the same Time, that how much soever I thought it might import my Interest, yet I would never think of doing such a Thing without their Consent ; they readily gave it me, with this Caution, that I should not descend into Particulars, or mention any of the Persons concerned. These Preliminaries settled, we parted, and I spent a great part of
the

the Night in ruminating on the Probability of carrying this Project into Execution, and the Turn of my own Capacity for bearing a part in it. The great Point that perplexed me was, the forsaking *Lucia*, whom notwithstanding the strong Probability of the Thing, or rather Proof of it, I could not believe married.

THE next Day, as soon as I had brought myself into some Temper, for in the Morning the Reflection of what had passed the Day before, confused me not a little, I went to visit Mr. *Roland*, who had been a Preceptor in the Theory, and my sole Master in the little practical Knowledge I had of Stones and Medals. It so happened, that I came to him very opportunely, he was embarrassed for want of a small Sum of Money, which because of a former Debt, he would not mention to me ; it came by Chance to my Ears, and with some Difficulty he was perswaded to make Use of my Assistance. We spent the Afternoon together, and as nothing was more common than for us to talk of the Affairs of the *Levant*, and the Method of carrying on a Trade there, I easily turned the Conversation on that Subject, on which my Friend talk'd as freely and fully, as if I had particularly asked his Advice on the Business then in my Head.

HE discoursed of the Cautions necessary for preserving Health in the Oriental Countries, and for familiarizing one's self to their Customs ; he described at large the Virtues, Vices, and Manners of the *Turks*, *Jews*, and *Greeks*, and never did any Painter hit Likeness more exactly. He explained the Method of dealing with all these People, their respective Artifices, and the Means of guarding against them ; above all, he recommended

mended the Study of *Physic*, as the shortest and safest Method of being introduced into the Houses of Persons of Distinction, with whom he alledged it was always best to converse, and through whom it was easiest to acquire whatever one sought for in those Countries.

FROM this Conversation I was thoroughly convinced, that such an Expedition as my Friends had proposed to me, might turn to great Advantage under prudent Management, and a steady Regard to the main Design. When I returned Home in the Evening, I looked over all the Notes I had formerly made upon Subjects of this Nature, planned out a Method for disposing them into Order, and drew out such *Queries* as might lead to a thorough Knowledge of all Points in which I had been hitherto deficient, for want of being acquainted with the proper Head of Inquiry. I likewise prescribed to myself a Task still more laborious, that of digesting all my other Memorandums into Method, so that they might lie in a narrow Compass, knowing that if I ever carried this Design into Execution, it would be impossible for me to have the Use of many Books.

A DAY or two afterwards I went to visit Mr. *Pucci*, whom I found in a very declining Condition, he had some Months before a Fit of an Apoplexy, from which with Difficulty he was recovered. Soon after he fell into a Dysentery, which tho' the Physicians had found Means to alleviate, yet were they unable to cure. It was this Disorder which had brought my Friend so low as to be scarce able to walk cross the Room. In this Condition he had his Senses as clear as ever, and spoke to me with his usual Affection and Tendernefs. The

Concern

Concern I was under to see him so weak, hindered me from mentioning any Business, and occasioned my enquiring particularly into the Causes of his Distemper. The good old Man said, that he believed his Constitution was quite worn out, and that he was thankful to Providence for affording him this soft and gentle Death.

BEFORE I was aware I answered, that it was not impossible he might recover, for that I had known extraordinary Things done by taking daily a very small Dose of prepared *Opium*. Senior *Pucci* catch'd at this, and would immediately have the Medicine, which when I saw he was not to be moved I comply'd with, and having weigh'd out exactly three Doses, he took one of them immediately, and the other two on the next succeeding Days. After the last Dose, he was apparently much better, and by keeping to this Medicine in the same Proportion it was at first given him, he recovered wonderfully.

By this lucky Accident I became exceedingly in his Favour, he would have presented me with a Ring of very great Value, but I absolutely refused it, telling him at the same Time, that I would put it in his Power to gratify me farther than the Value of that Ring. I then began to explain to the old Gentleman the Business I had at Heart, and he very kindly furnished me with all the proper Instructions I could desire, and answered all the Questions I thought fit to ask. At the close of the Conversation he gave me a little Note, which in three Lines contained the Secret of cleansing colour'd Stones, the Value of which, if I had attentively considered, I might have spared myself the Pains of leaving *Italy* to acquire a Fortune.

BEFORE

BEFORE the Fortnight was expired, in which I had promised to give my Answer to my Friends, I receiv'd a Letter from *Venice* unsigned, which informed me, that my Landlord threw my Epistle into the Fire without reading it, that all I could write would meet with the same Fate, that *Lucia* was undoubtedly married; and that to make myself easy and happy, I ought never to think of her more. At this Time I steadfastly believed this Letter came from my Landlady, who had always professed a very great Esteem for me, but it seems she really knew nothing of the Matter; on the contrary, as soon as he had burnt my Letter, my Landlord went to the House of the Gentleman where *Lucia* lived, and in a Passion, gave an Account of the whole Transaction, which coming to the Ears of the Lady with whom *Lucia* lived in the strictest Friendship, she had the Goodness to write the Letter I have just mentioned, in order to put me out of Pain.

THE next Morning I sent my Man to invite Mr. *Perez* and Mr. *Fetherstone* to Dinner, and before we sat down to it, declared to them my fixed Resolution to embark with them in the Design they had proposed. They appeared extremely satisfied with this Resolution, and we drank that Evening to the Success of our Affairs, not indeed to a Degree of downright Drunkenness, but pretty much beyond our usual Extent; so that it was thought proper for them to remain all Night in my Apartment, and the next Morning it was agreed that we should immediately enter on the necessary Preparations for our Voyage.

HITHERTO I had suffered myself as often as I was alone, to be haunted with Dreams of returning to Eng-
L
land,

land, and living somewhere in the Country with *Lucia*. But now as this appeared absolutely impracticable, I resolved to rid myself of these idle Notions, and to apply solely to the Point in Hand, as to that on which my Fortune entirely depended, having at present, little or no Hopes of receiving farther Advantage from the Effects of my Uncle, notwithstanding the Justice of my Demand.

Mr. *Fetherstone* who had undertaken to negotiate with Mr. *Mountague* (for so the Lord Chief Justice *St. John* was called) after he had retired into *France*, the Payment of the Money due from a certain great Person to Mr. *Perez* for his Diamonds, happily concluded that Affair; I say happily, tho' he could not procure the whole Debt; but 1500 Pistoles, for which it was compromised, proved a great and unexpected Addition to *Perez's* Fortune, who till his Flight from *Spain*, had looked upon this in the Light of a desperate Demand. All my Effects were by this Time either come to Hand, or remitted to Mr. *Hayes*, on whom I could depend; and therefore it was agreed that Mr. *Fetherstone* should immediately set out for *Venice*, to provide all Things there for our Departure from *Europe*, and that Mr. *Perez* and I should follow him as soon as conveniently we could.

THIS Resolution was executed almost as soon as it was taken, and we had no Reason to repent of having placed our whole Confidence in Mr. *Fetherstone*, whose Integrity and Capacity appeared very remarkably in the Management of a Business so new to him, as well as to ourselves. It is true, he had the Help of the *French* Memoir, which was very exact, as well as comprehensive,

five, but with the best Instructions, it is necessary that he who is to execute them should have Honour and Prudence, for otherwise they will be of little Use.

It fell out in our Affairs as it does in most new Undertakings, half the Difficulties relating to it were not foreseen. Mr. *Perez* and I therefore were exceedingly surprized, when after a Stay of Seven Weeks, Mr. *Fetherstone* informed us that it would much better answer our Purposes, if we made Choice of *Leghorn* for our Port, from whence in the succeeding Month there would sail a *French* Ship for *Alexandria*, on Board of which we might enjoy all imaginable Conveniency; whereas according to our former Scheme, we must wait till the Beginning of the next Year before we could embark from *Venice* as commodiously. The Reasons he assigned were so just, and our Confidence in him so great, that we instantly returned him an Answer conformable to his Desires, and he thereupon quitted *Venice*, and repaired to *Leghorn*, for which Place, as soon as we received Advice of his Arrival, we determined immediately to set out, having had all Things for some Time in readiness.

Among the parting Visits I made to my Friends, one was to Signior *Pucci*, which because it was attended with some Consequences worthy relating, I will mention here. As during my Stay at *Geneva*, I had a great deal of spare Time on my Hands, I employed part of it in visiting such of the States and Principalities in *Italy* as lay not at too great a Distance. By Degrees, either on Business or Pleasure, I saw them all, excepting only the Territory of his *Holiness*, and the Kingdom of *Naples*. As my Intention was to inform myself

as thoroughly as I could of their present Condition, I constantly made a List of *Queries* drawn from the Deficiencies, Variations, and Contradictions of the Accounts I had read, and by satisfying myself on these Points, I looked upon it as a Thing certain, that nothing very material could escape me. These at my Leisure I reviewed, and from them composed *two* distinct *Treatises*, one in *Italian*, the other in *English*, of the State of *Italy* in the Year 1672.

THE former of these I had formerly shewn to Seignor *Pucci*, who either out of Regard to its Author, or because he really had a better Opinion of the Piece than it deserved, desired to have it transcribed, that he might have a Copy of it for his own Use, which at this Visit I gave him. The old Gentleman received it very kindly, and at the same Time he placed it in his Cabinet, took from thence a Paper, which he put into my Hands.

THIS said he, my Friend, next to the Manuscript you have given me, I look upon to be the choicest Piece in all my Collection; it is a Discourse of a *French* Virtuoso on the *Philosopher's Stone*, and is esteemed by the *Literati* of *Italy* a Master Piece. I think I cannot make you a more acceptable Present, otherwise I would endeavour to do it.

A DISSERTATION on the natural Production of Metals, and of the Possibility and Probability of there being such a Universal Tincture as is commonly called the Philosopher's Stone.

“ **A**S Credulity is the Mother of Error, so Sceptism is the Parent of irresolute Ignorance, as
 “ homely a Baby as the other. Truth is only discover'd
 “ by

“ by those who are content to join the *Lights* of *Expe-*
 “ *rience* and of *Reason*, and who are as much disposed
 “ to *receive* for certain, what of their own Knowledge
 “ they are *told* by *others*, as they are inclined to expect
 “ from *others* an immediate Belief of what they *affirm*
 “ themselves. I have premised this for two Reasons,
 “ *First*, because the little Knowledge I have hath ac-
 “ crued to me from practising these *Maxims*; and *Se-*
 “ *condly*, because I intend to deliver the Fruits of my
 “ *Studies* to *others* in the same Way, and not by the
 “ fatiguing round-about Road of the *Schools*, wherein
 “ *Form* is so much prefer’d to *Matter*, that we are of-
 “ ten disgusted with *Truth* itself, through the *Weari-*
 “ *ness* we are under from the *tedious Journey* taken in
 “ *Search* of her.

“ In all the Parts of the *Universe* we distinguish
 “ *Matter* and *Spirit*; by *Matter* I understand those
 “ *gross* Particles which are only fit to be *acted* upon;
 “ and by *Spirit*, those *fine* and *lively Effluvias* which
 “ are properly suited for *Action*. A warm and humid
 “ *Vapour* steeming continually from the *Centre* of the
 “ *Earth* gives *Spirit* to all Things; which are the same
 “ in this Respect, tho’ they differ from each other, ac-
 “ cording to the variety of Matter wrought on by this
 “ *Ætherial Spirit*, or *Mercury* of *Nature*.

“ *THIS Breath* or *Vapour* passing over a dry subtil
 “ and sulphureous *Earth*, it carries Part thereof along
 “ with it, because all *dry Bodies* adhere to *Moisture*,
 “ being forced by the *Central Heat* still upwards, and
 “ meeting in the *Caverns* of the *Earth*, continual Re-
 “ sistance, whereby it is often beaten back on that dry
 “ and sulphureous *Earth*, which it at first gently touch’d;

“ at last, after many *Sublimations* and *Precipitations*,
 “ this *Mercury* is absorbed and swallowed up in the
 “ *Earth*, and by the internal *Heat*, becomes the *Seed*
 “ of *Metals*, of which the *Matter* as well as the *essen-*
 “ *tial Form* is the same in all, their Differences arising
 “ only from the *Accidents* of *Density* and *Colour*.

“ As to the *first Point*, the *Difference* in the *Weight*.
 “ Such as are called *imperfect Metals* are *specifically* lighter,
 “ than those which are filed perfect *Metals*; and
 “ the Reason is, because they are composed of *gross*
 “ and *heterogeneous* Parts, that is, the Bulk and Contrariety
 “ of the Particles cause in such *Metals* more *Vacuities*
 “ than there are in those composed of *smaller*
 “ and *homogeneous* Particles. To make this perfectly
 “ plain, consider that a Basket filled with *Apples* hath
 “ evidently more void Spaces, than the same Basket
 “ fill'd with *Corn*. Again, a thousand *ivory Dice*
 “ might be pack'd up in much less Room, than if the
 “ same quantity of *Ivory* was wrought up into *five*
 “ *hundred Dice*, *three hundred Billiard Balls*, and *two*
 “ *hundred little Eggs*. This Comparison, as it explains
 “ the lightness of *imperfect Metals*, so it shews
 “ also how they come to be more brittle and frangible;
 “ for in a Body full of *Vacuities*, any Stroke from
 “ without easily occasions a *Seperation*, whereas it
 “ would more closely unite a Body composed of *small*
 “ and *homogeneous* Particles, as Experience also verifies.

“ THE *Second Difference* is *Colour*. For if all *Metals*
 “ could be made as *heavy* as *Gold*, and as *yellow*,
 “ they would undoubtedly be turned to *Gold*. At present
 “ we shall not enter into the Causes whence are
 “ de-

“ derived the different *Colours* of *Metals*, it is sufficient
 “ to observe, that the *yellowness* of *Gold* arises from its
 “ being composed of *homogeneous* Parts, and from its
 “ *humid Spirit* being effectually swallow'd up in its
 “ *Earth*. To explain this, let us consider *Bread*,
 “ which is composed of *Flower* and *Water* properly
 “ tempered; when by the Operation of *Heat*, the *Moist*
 “ is thoroughly absorbed in the *Dry*, the Reflection of
 “ the *Rays* of *Light* exhibit to us a *yellowish Colour*;
 “ whereas when *raw* it was *White*, and if it had been
 “ *over-baked*, it would have been *Black*.

“ THIS then being a fair Account of the manner in
 “ which *Nature* acts in the *Formation* of *Metals*, if
 “ we propose to ourselves to do the same Thing, we
 “ must imitate her; we must take a dry subtil and sul-
 “ phureous *Earth*, and this warm and humid *Vapour*
 “ or *Mercury*, and having caused the *one* to imbibe the
 “ *other*, we must sublimate and circulate these till they
 “ fix in a *metallick* Substance, which by Degrees may
 “ be dried till it becomes *Gold*, and this the more cer-
 “ tainly and the more expeditiously, if the *Earth* were
 “ properly purified before, and the *Operation* performed
 “ by a *Heat* stronger and more constant than that
 “ proceeding from the *Central* flame.

“ BUT our *Philosophy* pretends not to carry Things
 “ so far; it aims only at making a *Powder* fusible, sub-
 “ til, penetrating, fixed, and with a Power of *Ting-*
 “ *ing*. By its Fusibility, it melts with a small Degree
 “ of *Heat*; by its Subtilty, it is render'd fit to enter
 “ into the straightest *Pores* of any *Metal*; by its pene-
 “ trating Quality, it forces through them, and mingles
 “ itself with all their *Particles* to the very *Centre*,

“ rendering them fix'd and solid, by the Expulsion of
 “ *heterogenous* Particles; and finally, by the Diffusive-
 “ ness of its *Tincture* drying the *imperfect Metal*, and
 “ tinging it throughout with the *colour* of *Gold*.

“ It is apparent from what hath been already said,
 “ that for the Formation of the *Philosophic Powder*, so
 “ far transcending *Gold*, it is necessary to have a proper
 “ *Spirit*, and a proper *Matter*. The *Spirit* or *Mer-*
 “ *cury* of the Philosophers is, as we have shewn, en-
 “ closed in every Thing which *lives*; but then this
 “ *Spirit* acquires a specific Quality from the *Matter*
 “ which it animates; and if we could sepearate a *vege-*
 “ *table Spirit* from the Matter in which it is envelo-
 “ ped, and mix it with a smaller quantity of the *Mer-*
 “ *cury* of the *Air*, it would operate on the *latter*, so as
 “ to assimilate it, and make it become a *vegetable Spi-*
 “ *rit*. But to cut Things short, if it could be so con-
 “ trived as to sepearate the *Mercury* of *Gold* from its
 “ subtil and sulphureous Earth, we might by small
 “ Additions of the *Mercury* from other Things, greatly
 “ encrease this *Mercury* of *Gold*, and then by a long
 “ and ingenious *Process*, managed with a proper Re-
 “ gard to *Nature* in her *Formation* of *Metals*, force
 “ this accumulated *Spirit* or *Mercury*, to unite itself
 “ again with the aforesaid subtil homogeneous and sul-
 “ phurous *Earth*, after which it would be no longer
 “ *Gold*, but the spirituous, penetrating, fixed, and tin-
 “ ging *Powder* which we want.

“ SUBSEQUENT to this short and distinct Account,
 “ there is no need of running through the *Experiment*
 “ of *Transmutation*, in order to shew how this *Pow-*
 “ *der* would operate on an *imperfect Metal*; this we
 “ have

“ have already done in the Description we gave o
 “ the Philosophic Powder ; and we would equally avoid
 “ Obscurity and Repetition. The Intent of this little
 “ Essay is not to divulge the *Secret* of making this
 “ Powder, but to shew that the supposing the Possibility
 “ of preparing it, is no *Absurdity*, as some who affect to
 “ be thought *Philosophers* would persuade the World it
 “ is ; and having done this, there is nothing more to
 “ be said. Let him who would be farther instructed,
 “ consider seriously this Account, and prosecute his
 “ Studies with an *humble Mind*, and a due Resignation
 “ to the *Will of God*.”

A Day or two before we were to set out for *Leghorn*,
 as I was talking to *Johnson* of our Expedition, I ap-
 prehended by the Coldness of his Answer, that he had no
 great Opinion of our Success, upon which I intreated
 him to deal freely with me, and give me his Advice in
 this as he had in other Things. He began with obser-
 ving that I ask'd it a little too late ; that if, as I suspect-
 ed, he had conceived an indifferent Opinion of this Pro-
 ject, his confessing it would only serve to discourage me,
 since my Fortune was already embarked ; but Sir, said
 he, it is not so, my Uneasiness is on my own Account ;
 I find my Constitution much weaken'd and impair'd ; I
 am apprehensive that travelling will encrease this Indis-
 position, and that instead of being for the future what I
 hope I have hitherto been, a useful, and diligent Servant,
 I shall be a Clog and Burthen to you. You will stand
 in need of a Person more active and more knowing than
 my self, though you are sensible, Sir, that I am not
 wholly

wholly unacquainted with the Nature and Value of those Rarities you are going to collect. However, Sir, that you may see I mean nothing less than to desert your Service, I will propose to you what I hope may advantage it as much, or rather more, than my travelling with you, which in few Words is this. I will, if you think proper, remain at *Leghorn*, whither we are now going, in order to take care of your Effects, which are at present unemploy'd, and to receive and execute such Commands as you may find it necessary to give me ; but of this, Sir, you will think at Leisure, for I pretend only to offer you my Sentiments, desiring that you should be guided only by your own. There will be Time enough for you to weigh this Matter maturely, which I recommend to your Consideration so warmly, because I think your Interest much more concerned in it than my own.

IN the beginning of the Month of *November*, Mr. *Perez*, and I, accompanied only by *Johnson*, arrived at *Leghorn*, where we lodged in the House of Messieurs *Varillon*, French Merchants, where we were treated with all imaginable Kindness, and had all the Conveniencies we could possibly desire. Mr. *Fetherstone*, since his coming hither from *Venice*, had been extremely troubled with a kind of bastard Pleurisy ; but as he was a Man of great Firmness and Resolution, he was so apprehensive of delaying our Affairs as well as his own, if he should have Recourse here to the Advice of Physicians, that he contented himself to the Use of such simple Medicines as either Reason or Experience acquainted him with, in hopes that these, with the Help of a very regular Diet, might

might restore him to Health. But in this he was deceived, for by the frequent Returns of his Distemper, he was so exceedingly weaken'd, that in the Space of a Fortnight he was obliged to keep his Room.

In this Condition, I, without acquainting him, sent for an eminent Physician, whose Name was *Ricardi*, who declared the Patient in a very dangerous Way, order'd some Blood to be taken away, and the next Day prescribed him a kind of Posset-drink, which by its Smell and Taste appeared to be strongly loaded with urinous Salts; by the Use of this, and some oily Draughts, my Friend recovered slowly, and at the same time the Physician declared that it would by no Means be safe for him to think of going to Sea, especially at this Season of the Year; which induced a new Change in our Affairs, and engaged us to resolve that Mr. *Fetherstone* should remain at *Leghorn*, and that *Johnson* should attend him. There was a Necessity of coming to this Resolution, because the *French Ship*, in which we were to make our Passage, proposed to sail by the tenth of *December*.

In the Time that upon this Occasion I staid at *Leghorn*, I was entirely acquainted with one Mr. *Wood*, the Grandson of Capt. *Wood*, so famous for his many long Voyages, which turned, however, but little to his Profit. This Gentleman lived on a small Fortune, acquired by his Father in the Service of the Duke of *Northumberland*, whose Son I saw more than once in *Italy*, and whose Grandson was at this Time Page of Honour to the Elector of *Bavaria*. As I was always jealous of the Honour of my Country, I could not help hearing with the greatest Satisfaction the Praises given to the late Duke; nor was I less amazed at my own Ignorance in
this

this Point, who knew not 'till I came into this Country, that there was any such Person as this Duke in the World.

As for Mr. *Fetherstone*, he was tolerably acquainted with his History, and for my Friend *Perez*, he almost adored his Memory on account of his being one of the *Adepti*, and who was generally held to have possessed, if ever Man did, the Philosopher's Stone. Having collected from my Friends the best Materials I could, and compared them with such Books as I could get a Sight of at *Leghorn*, I drew up the following Memorial concerning this extraordinary Person, and his most wonderful Adventures.

ROBERT Dudley, Earl of *Leicester*, so well known to the World by the Favour he lived in with his Mistress Queen *Elizabeth*, cohabited for many Years with the Lady *Douglafs Sheffield*, as his Wife, and had by her a Son and Daughter. The Son was called after his Father, *Robert*, and bred up with as much Care as if he had been intended for the Heir of his Father's Fortunes and Titles; and so indeed he ought to have been, since his Mother, who was the Daughter of the Lord *Howard of Effingham*, and the Widow of the Lord *Sheffield*, was no unworthy Match for his Father, and as certainly married to him as ever any Woman was to her Husband. But it was the Earl's Misfortune frequently to change his Views in Love, as well as Politics, and to stick at nothing to carry the Points which at any Time struck his Imagination. The Wife of the Earl of *Essex* eclipsed not only the Lady *Douglafs*, but his many Mistresses; so that being desirous to transfer his Honours and Estates to his Issue by this Lady who was with Child by him during

during her Husband's Life, he is said to have procured the Death of that Earl; and thus, notwithstanding his former Marriage, he took the Widow twice to Wife; Once privately for his own Satisfaction, and again to please her Father Sir *Francis Knolles*, in his, the Earl of *Warwick's*, and the Lord *North's* Presence.

As for the Lady *Douglas*, he first offered her seven hundred, then a thousand Pound *per Annum* to deny her Marriage, and bastardize her Children; but she refusing these and all other Conditions, another Method was try'd, familiar enough to his Lordship, whereby she lost her *Hair* and *Nails*, and was so effectually frighted, that to save him the Trouble of any future Attempts, she married Sir *Edward Strafford*, a Man of noble Birth, and of distinguished Abilities, the Queen's Ambassador to *France*.

ALL this Time the young *Robert Dudley* remained under the Care of his Father, who though he took Care on all Occasions to call him his *base Son*, yet in other Respects he abated nothing of his Tenderness towards him. When he grew up, he was sent to *Christ-Church* College in *Oxford*, of which University his Father was Chancellor. There the young Man very early distinguished himself by his surprizing Abilities, rivalling while a Youth, the most knowing in the University, especially in the Mathematics. What was still more wonderful, he excell'd no less in Studies of another, or rather opposite Nature, *viz.* Politics, at the same time that he surpassed in his Exercises the most sprightly of the Nobility.

WHEN he was but a very young Man, he addicted himself to Chemistry, affected much all new Discoveries
in

in Navigation, and, after his Father's Death, who tho' he again declared him his *base Son* by his Will, left him all that was in his Power, exerted himself in a very laudable Manner in the Encouragement of Trade, Manufactures, settling of Colonies, and whatever else contributed to national Glory. His Knowledge made him esteemed by the wisest Men, his Beneficence caused him to be surrounded with such ingenious Men as were in Distress, whom he liberally relieved, and with whom he familiarly conversed; at length, in the Year 1594, taking to heart the many Miscarriages of the *English* in the South Seas, he fitted out three small Ships at his own Expence, determining also to hazard his Person for retrieving the Reputation of the *English* Seamen in that Part of the World, and for making such Discoveries as might redound to the Service of the State.

BUT when all Things were ready, Queen *Elizabeth* absolutely refused him a Licence, saying, It became her, as the Mother of her People, to prevent their lavishing away their Lives in such vain Expeditions; however, she gave him Leave to sail into the *West Indies*, which he accepted, though he knew that Voyage could not possibly turn to his Account. At his first sailing from *England*, he lost the Company of his second Ship, and never recovered her; however, he proceeded in his Course, and with his two small Vessels took and sunk nine *Spanish* Ships, and in his Return engaged in his little Frigate a very large Ship of War, 'till such Time as all his Powder was spent, and then out-failed her, tho' it was afterwards known that she founder'd at Sea, and was lost with all her Crew. In 1595, he returned safe to *London*, and was some time after knighted.

DURING

DURING the rest of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, he distinguished himself by encouraging to the utmost of his Power all the new Branches of Trade which were opened by our Merchants, either to the East or West. He married the Lady *Alice*, by whom he had two Daughters, and for ought I know other Children. On King *James's* coming to the Crown, he attempted in the Court of *Star-chamber* to prove the Legitimacy of his Birth. To this Purpose, his Mother, the Lady *Douglass*, was examin'd, who deposed, that she was lawfully and solemnly married at *Asher* in the County of *Surry*, to the Earl of *Leicester*, in the Presence of Sir *Edward Horsey*, who gave her in Marriage, *Robert Sheffield*, Esq; and eight other Persons. It appeared likewise in Evidence, that the Ring with which she was married, was set with five pointed Diamonds, and a Table Diamond; which Ring had been given to the Earl of *Leicester* by the old Earl of *Pembroke*, with this Injunction, never to part with it but to the Lady he made his Wife. The Lady *Parker* deposed at the same time, that she had seen and read at the very Time it was delivered to the Lady *Douglass*, a Letter felicitating her on the Birth of her Son *Robert*, subscribed, Your loving Husband, *Leicester*.

BUT on a sudden the King sent an Order to stay all Proceedings in this Cause, and forbid the Publication of any of the Depositions. Soon after an Information was exhibited against such as had been examined for entering into a Conspiracy against the Honour of *Lettice Countess of Leicester*; whereupon Sir *Robert Dudley* resolved to leave his native Country.

WITH

WITH this View he procured a Licence to travel for three Years, though he certainly intended not to return so early at least, if at all. He took with him the Daughter of Sir Robert Southwell, and left his Wife, by whom he had two Daughters, behind him, with her Children. Travelling into *Italy*, after visiting other Courts, he settled at that of the great Duke of *Tuscany*, where he lived with such Lustre, that it was currently reported, and generally believed, he either had the Philosopher's Stone, or some other Secret of the same, though it might be of an inferior Nature. Here it was that he made a grand Display of his vast Abilities in the practical Mathematics, by projecting the Re-establishment of *Leghorn*, for Those who pretend it was built by him, are in a prodigious Error.

It anciently belonged to the *Pisans*, and was by them rendered a commodious Port, and a tolerable City; falling into the Hands of the *Florentines*, it sunk into a very low Condition; from whence it was recovered by the Interposition of Sir Robert Dudley, who contrived a Method of cleansing the Marshes, and thereby amending the Air, the Unwholesomeness of which had been the chief Occasion of its Desertion. He likewise advised the declaring it a *Free Port*, and pointed out the vast Advantages which would accrue to the Grand Duke thereby. One grand Objection that he overcame was this, that even according to his own Project the Port of *Leghorn*, however fair in Shew, would never be capable of receiving large Ships; and if these again were suffered to ride in the Road, they would not be under the Command of the Guns from the Fort; so that after a vast Expence the Grand Duke would have no Security of seeing

seeing any Part of his Money return'd, but lye in a Manner at the Mercy of Strangers.

SIR *Robert* observed that it was on this very Situation he built all his Hopes, that what was called Want of Security, was the best Security in the World, for it would induce Traders to anchor there rather than in any other Port. Two other Things he advised, which have been pretty well kept up to, *viz.* the laying but one Piafter on a Bale of Goods, let its Bulk or Value be what it will; the other, that *Messieurs* the *Inquisitors* would be pleased to wink at Strangers, and not pretend to inquire into the Religion of Those who came to do their Business, and not to make or be made Profelytes. This Nobleman afterwards built a very fine House at *Florence*, where he was very conspicuously the Patron of the Learned, the Industrious, and the Ingenious. For his rare Merit the Emperor *Ferdinand* the II^d, created him a Duke of the *Holy Roman Empire*. The *English* generally stile him Duke of *Northumberland*, but the Inhabitants of the Country called him Duke *de Berlich*. But it is now Time to return to his Affairs in *England*.

HE had not been long out of the Kingdom before the Enemies of his Family procured a privy Seal to recall him; which he not obeying, his Estates were seized. Afterwards, however, Prince *Henry* having a Mind to purchase the Castle of *Kenilworth*, and Lands belonging thereto, Sir *Robert* was treated with in order to part with his Right, which for *fourteen thousand five hundred* Pounds he consented to do, though the Purchase was worth *forty* thousand. His Highness had thereupon Possession given him, yet Sir *Robert Dudley* never received one Shilling. *Three thousand* Pounds, Part of the Purchase

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Money, was paid to an *English* Merchant who failed; and Prince *Henry* dying, the Estate descended to Prince *Charles*, and all Hopes of the Money were lost.

IN the Year 1621, however, a new Agreement was made with the Lady *Alice*, Wife to Sir *Robert Dudley*; in Consequence of which, an Act of Parliament passed to enable her to convey all his Estates as if she was a single Woman, and legally possessed of them, in Consideration of certain perpetual Annuities granted to her and her Daughters; which, however, neither she nor they ever received. But a long Time afterwards, I think, after the breaking out of the *Civil War*, this Lady, who was still living, was by Letters Patents under the Great Seal, created a *Duchess*, with Precedency to her self and Daughters, according to the Patent granted by the Emperor *Ferdinand* to her Husband. These two Daughters, viz. the Lady *Catherine*, and the Lady *Anne* were married, the former to Sir *Richard Leveson*, the latter to Sir *Robert Holbourn*.

THIS Duke, who spent the rest of his Life for the most part at *Florence*, had Issue two Sons, and several Daughters, by the Lady he carried from *England*. The eldest of these Sons succeeded him in his Title, the second was an Ecclesiastick in *France*; his Daughters married Persons of great Quality, and the eldest of them was at this Time living, being married for the second Time to the Marquis *Paleoti*, by whom she has Issue. The present Duke of *Northumberland*, as he is called, was formerly High Steward to the Queen of *Sweden*, from whom he had a Pension of six hundred Crowns *per Annum*.

He also hath two Sons, but is not esteemed rich, and therefore I think the *English* do not pay him much Court. I have known many who took him for a Knight-Errant, and a Man of no Birth. This strange Inaccuracy amongst our Countrymen makes Strangers conceive oddly of them ; and indeed not without Reason. For undoubtedly, never any Man was worse treated than Sir *Robert Dudley*, who was punished for the Crimes of his Father, contrary to the Law of Nature, of Nations, and of his Country. To deny therefore to him or his Descendants, those new Honours which he merited from Foreign Princes, is a Mark not only of Injustice, but of Unpoliteness, or rather Brutality. But enough of this.

LEGHORN is a very pretty Town, extremely well built, and appearing so much the more beautiful, because the Streets are broad, uniform, and strait, all leading to the large Piazza where the Merchants meet. The Place is very well fortified, and the Citadel is of considerable Strength. The Mole is a wonderful Work, and of great Security to the Ships which lie within it ; the Road is tolerably safe ; but in truth it is the Privilege of its being a free Port which causes such a mighty Resort to *Leghorn*. Should any of the Grand Dukes venture to encrease their Revenues by breaking in upon this Privilege, we should see it deserted, as many of the Ports of *Italy* are already. On the Key there is a very fine Statue of *Ferdinand I.* Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, supported by four Slaves.

THERE were at this Time several very eminent *English* Merchants in *Leghorn*, viz. Mr. *Foot*, Mr. *Brown*, Mr. *Serle*, Mr. *Sidney*, Mr. *Hatton*, Mr. *Dethick*, &c. But our Business lay with *Jacob Francia* a Jew, a very

rich Man, and of a fair Reputation. Of his Nation there are great Numbers at *Leghorn*, who have a Quarter to themselves, and are not troubled on Account of their Religion. There are many *Turkish* Slaves who go up and down with a little Lock upon their Legs, and are permitted to ply as Porters for their Bread, paying an Acknowledgment to their Patron. This is an excellent School for such as intend to understand the *Levant* Trade, because they have here greater Opportunities of conversing with Foreigners, such as *Greeks*, *Armenians*, and *Jews*, who have travelled through the *Turkish* Empire, than any where else, and therefore, though we remained longer than we at first expected, it was with very great Regret that I left it so soon, before I had Time to make many Acquaintances, or could furnish my self with such further Instructions as I thought necessary for pursuing with Success the Business I went about.

IN this City there resided one *Jacobi*, who had been Captain of a trading Vessel, but had now raised an Estate on which he lived very handsomely. He was a great Lover of Chemistry, and understood it pretty well. This Gentleman affirmed, that five and twenty Years before, I think in the Year 1646, a Person lodged in the House of a *Jew* of his Acquaintance, the Man was a Stranger, without Recommendation to any Body, but of very courteous Behaviour, and who appeared to have more than ordinary Learning. This Stranger having heard of Captain *Jacobi's* Inclination for Chemistry, and that he was very desirous of knowing whether there was such a Thing practicable as *Transmutation* of *Metals*, desired to speak with him; and having first obtained his

Promise,

Promise, that he would say nothing of what passed between them 'till a certain Time after his Departure. He desired the Captain to bring him a brass Candlestick, which having melted before his Face, he turned immediately into *fine* Gold.

I HAVE heard many such Stories without giving much Credit, or indeed without taking much Notice of them; neither can I absolutely believe this; but I have set it down, because Capt. *Jacobi* was esteemed a Man of Honour.

THERE was also in *Leghorn* one *Veneroni*, a *Venetian*, whom himself stiled a Physician, and whom the Physicians called a Quack: He had a *Nostrum* for curing the *Neapolitan* Disease, which he performed with very gentle Physic; of which it was known the chief Ingredient was *Senna*, and a Diet Drink very pleasant to the Taste. He likewise cured Leprosies, and all extraordinary Foulnesses of the Skin, chiefly by a Diet of Chickens and Capons, nourished with the Flesh of *Vipers*. The Physicians would have bought his *Nostrum*, but he refused to part with it, upon which they decry'd him; however, he has got a great deal of Credit as well as Money. It was observed, that of late Years this Man affected to appear very religious, which some attribute to his Fear of the *Inquisition*, to whom, on the least Scandal, the Physicians would get him denounced, and thereby rid themselves of so troublesome a Rival.

THREE or four Days before we left the Place, my Friend *Perez* grew very uneasy. He had at a Coffee-House refused a *Jew* his Price for a Watch; and the Fellow being very importunate, he at last bid him be gone in a pretty quick Tone. Upon this the Fellow

turned about and told him, he was as much a *Jew* as himself; that he had fled from the *Inquisition* in *Spain*, and that he should not remain long at Liberty if he staid in *Leghorn*. It seems this Fellow had been at *Genoa* when Endeavours were used to seize Mr. *Perez* there. We were much alarmed at this Accident; but it had no ill Effects, by reason the *Jews* of their own Accord obliged the Fellow to go immediately to *France*, fearing that he should expose themselves to the Resentment of Strangers; and that if this Affair made a Noise, it might prejudice some of their own Relations in *Spain*. However, to rid Mr. *Perez* of all Apprehension, I got an Apartment for him in the House of a *British* Merchant, where he remained till the Vessel was ready to sail. This is an Instance of the natural Insolence of the *Jews*, which renders them so hateful where-ever they reside.

THE Day preceding that on which we should have gone on Board, a *Corfsair* sailed out of the Road, and carried with him abundance of Seamen belonging to the Ships then in the Port. I, who heard the Complaints of most of the Captains, and particularly of him with whom I was to sail, took all the Pains I could to be acquainted with the Nature of the Business, there appearing to be in it the strongest Contradictions in the World. For, on the one hand, it was asserted, that Seamen were nowhere better treated than on board the Vessels in the Merchants Service trading to the *Levant*; and that on the contrary, in these *Corfsairs*, or *Crusals*, the Men were used like Slaves, detained sometimes five or six Years, and at length set at Liberty without a Farthing in their Pockets.

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THAT Sailors of all Nations should quit the Merchants Service to go on Board these Privateers, was therefore to me the oddest Mystery in the World, especially considering the Infamy attending that Profession, which hinders Sailors who have ever been on Board them from being employed elsewhere, for fear some of their old Maxims should stick with them, and put them upon inviting their Companions to mutiny, which Experience, as well as Reason, hath shewn to be but too practicable in these Parts. In order to inform my self on these Heads, and of the Nature of these cruising Voyages, of which I had heard so many extravagant Stories, I resolved, as I was to go in the Afternoon to take my Leave of Captain *Jacobi*, to desire him to set me right a little, and to give me some Idea of the Charms in this kind of Life, which were so strong as to engage Men to leave an honest and comfortable State of Life for immediate Want, and the future Prospect of perpetual Slavery, impaling alive, or at least Indigence and Infamy, as long as they lived.

CAPTAIN *Jacobi* enter'd readily into the Matter, and gave me a very full and very distinct Account of the Management of the Cruisals. He began with observing that they were fitted out from several *Ports* of the *Mediterranean*, particularly from this of *Leghorn*, under Colour of cruising on the *Turks* and other *Infidels*; but in truth, to make Prize of all Vessels weaker than their own. The first Thing, said he, considered on such an Undertaking is the Choice of a Captain, who, together with the Lieutenant, and other Officers, are to be Men of Experience, such as have made at least one Voyage before. For these Voyages lasting often nine Years, one is sufficient for a Man to gain Experience. The Captain

and Officers being fixed, a Ship is bought, an old one generally, which is well fitted up, handsomely painted and sixteen or twenty Brass Guns put on board, besides Patareroes. As to the Number of Men, it is uncertain, however, they rarely go to Sea with less than *one*, or more than *three* hundred. I perceive what you want to know is, how they come by these.

IN the first place, the Captain and his Officers pick out a *dozen* or *twenty* daring desperate Fellows who know not how to live, and these are stiled *Volunteers*. Next he stands out to Sea with his Vessel, and perhaps hovers on the Coast of *Corfica*, or of *Sicily*, where he takes on board such as are in great Fear of the Gallows, such as have been condemned for Murder, Robbery, or Sacrilege, and, by the Interest of their Friends, are permitted to escape out of Prison. By this Time the Captain has Soldiers enough; the next Thing is to get Seamen.

WITH this View he comes again into this Road, and sends on shoar a Dozen or Fourteen of his Volunteers, who insinuate themselves into the Company of Sailors; tell them Miracles of their Captains Valour, Generosity, and good Fortune; swear that they are bound by their Agreement with their Proprietors to return to *Leghorn* in *three* Years, and that at the End of this Space they propose to divide at least *three thousand* Ducats a Man.

As soon as a Seaman listens to his Discourse, and begins to talk of Wages, he tells him they live on Board like Gentlemen, and at the End of the Cruise receive their Proportion of the Prizes; but that as they may at present stay some Time in Port, the Captain will readily advance a Seaman he likes forty or fifty Crowns, or to a
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very clever Fellow (such a one to be sure as the Volunteer talks to) *four score* or a *hundred*, if he stands in need of them. Upon this, the Sailor desires to be introduced to the Captain, who at his Audience hath three or four of his People by, ready to catch the Words before they are half out of his Mouth, and to swear to the Truth of all he says. This Interview issues in an Agreement with the Stranger, and an Advance of fifteen or twenty Crowns, which the Man is suffered to spend in running up and down *Leghorn*, but never without a Spy in his Company, whom he generally treats as his Friend.

WHEN the Money is out, this Fellow puts him upon asking for more, pursuant to the extravagant Agreement made with him at first. Upon his Application to the Captain, he is very probably kept to Dinner with him, and invited to drink pretty freely after it; when he is mellow, the Captain goes to reach him the Money, but finding he has not much on Shore, he gives him an Order upon the Lieutenant for the Sum he desires, and at the same Time another very express Order, that after receiving the Money he shall be permitted to come on Shore, which however the Lieutenant construes into a very strict Command to keep him close on Board, which he does not fail to do, without giving him a Dollar.

By these Practices the Ship is mann'd with *French*, *English*, *Dutch*, and *Flemish* Sailors, for *Italian* Seamen are not so easily trapp'd, and then they stand away for the *Arches*, where tho' every Thing they lay hold of is good Prize; yet so much Care is taken to look up all the Sailors Shares, that they seldom or never see a Dollar,

Dollar, or get a Shoe or Stocking of their own. The *Volunteers* are their *Guards*, and treat them like Slaves. After *eight* or *nine* Years the Ship returns into Port in better Condition than she sail'd, for they frequently break up new Vessels to repair her, and make Use of all the Carpenters they can lay hold of *Gratis*. The *Seamen* are then turned adrift, and the *Proprietors*, besides a considerable Sum of ready Money, have *three* or *four Hundred*, sometimes many more Slaves, divided amongst them.

To make this the more easily comprehended, the *Captain* was pleased to give me an Account of a very strange Accident which befell Monsieur *Thevenot*, a very learned *French* Traveller, who returning from a Pilgrimage which he had made to the *Holy Land*, was taken on Board a *French* Saïque, almost in Sight of the Coast of *Syria*, by a *Maltese* Caper, that is a *Corfsair*, fitted out from *Malta*, not one of the *Vessels* of the Order. These Pirates not only seized the Vessel and Cargo, but stript also the Passengers, and amongst others M. *Thevenot* stark naked, and the next Day sent them ashore with only a few Rags to cover their Nakedness. The *Port* they landed them at was *Acra*, or *Ptolemais*, where there happened to be two or three *French* Merchant Ships in the Harbour. The *Turkish* *Aga* thereupon apply'd himself instantly to the *French* Consul, and told him, since this Insult had been offer'd to his Master's Subjects almost within Sight of the Place, he must insist on his giving Orders to the *French* Captains to give Chace to the *Corfsair*, offering to accompany them in Person with three or four small arm'd Barks. The *Consul* could not avoid complying with
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this Request, the *French* Captains spent the Night in putting their Vessels in order, and in the grey of the Morning stood to Sea with the *Turkish* Barks. As soon as the *Corfair* saw them, her Crew cut the Cables, and crowded all the Sail they could ; they chased them however some Hours, and the *Turkish* Barks fired at them, tho' to no Purpose ; at length they gave over, and returned into Port. As soon as the *Aga* had debarqued his Troops, he went to pay his Compliments to the *French* Consul which he did to this Purpose. *I am obliged to you for the Assistance you so readily accorded me, I have done my Duty, and am not sorry we did not succeed, since how much Villains soever these People may be, you could not help seeing with Regret so many Men, some perhaps of your Country, all of your Religion, impaled alive, a Fate from which I could not possibly have excused them.* The Consul on his Part congratulated the *Aga* on his Integrity, and so this Business ended.

Not long since a *Frenchman* of Birth, addicted himself to this Way of living, and became Captain of a Vessel which carried *Livornexe* Colours. As he was a very enterprizing Man, he quickly rendered himself very famous throughout the *Archipelago*, having sometimes adventured to land, and take Prisoners within a Day's Journey of *Constantinople*. At length it so happened, that he went ashore on a *Greek* Island, where sometime before the People had risen, and put the *Grand Seignior's* Officers to Death. Conscious of their own Demerits, and dreading the Revenge the *Turks* were about to take, the faithless *Greeks* seized this unhappy Captain, and made their Peace, by delivering him up to the *Sultan*.

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HE had made himself so terrible to the *Turks*, that the *Grand Seignior* had a Desire to see him; he was then absent from *Constantinople*, and the Prisoner was carried where the Court resided. When the *Grand Seignior* had look'd upon him, a Man of the Law was ordered to tell him that he must become a *Turk*, to which he answered, *I am in your Power, you may put me to what Death you please, but God forbid I should redeem my Body at the Expence of my Soul.* Three Hours afterwards he was beheaded, and his Corpse by the *Grand Vizir's* Order expos'd for three Days, after which the Christians were suffered to inter it. Such was the Account my Curiosity procur'd me of the *Corfairs* of the *Levant* and their Affairs. Now to my own.

ALL our Effects and Baggage being on Board by the 8th of *December*, the Captain called upon us in the Evening, to desire we would not fail to be ready before Noon the next Day. We spent the greatest Part of the Night in conversing with Mr. *Fetherstone*, to whom we promised to send from *Alexandria*, whatever we met of Value, with Instructions how to dispose of it, that it might be without the Reach of Fortune. He and my Servant *Johnson* on the other Hand, gave us all possible Assurance of their Industry and Care of our Interests, of which we were perfectly well assured, and I think no People ever did trust each other so much, and found less Occasion to repent of it. The Week before we parted I had taken into my Service one *Antonio* a *Portuguese*, who had been Servant for many Years to the last *Venetian* Consul at *Cairo*. This Man was recommended to me as a Person sober, diligent,

gent, one who understood the Language, and was well acquainted with the Country, which Character I confess he answered ; but he had so many odd peevish Humours, that Mr. *Perez* and I were rather his Servants than he ours.

It had been my Study to put our Effects in the least Compass possible, and with that View I had contrived four Chests, which being placed two on the Top of the other Two, made an exact Cube, and by the Help of Steel Rods and Rings were fastened so, as to make a convenient Bale if put on Board any Vessel, or where they were to pass by Land Carriage, they were so fitted as to make two Bales ; or if that was inconvenient, might be divided into four.

BESIDES this Mr. *Perez* had two large Cloak Bags to himself, and I one, with a portable Cabinet bought at *Verona* of a German Chemist for fifty Ducats. It contained a compleat *Apothecary's* Shop, furnished with *Galenical* and *Chemical* Medicines ; and besides its Conveniency, was of admirable Use in striking the *Turks* and *Arabs* with Wonder, the Doors, Lids, Bottoms, and Pedestals being all filled with Drawers, Cells, and other Conveniencies, which turning out suddenly, and as it were of themselves, by touching Buttons fixed upon Strings, seemed very pleasant and strange, especially to a Beholder unaccustom'd to such Things. All these Matters, together with such Provisions as were necessary in the Passage, we got on Board by the Time prescribed.

ON the 9th of *December*, about Seven in the Morning, the Wind blowing fair, the Captain came to hurry us on Board, we chearfully obeyed his Summons ; but
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the Wind chopping about, he was in some Doubt as to putting out to Sea, but between three and four it blew fair again, and we sailed with all the Tokens of a prosperous Voyage ; the tenth, eleventh and twelfth, the Wind continued fair, but sometimes it blew pretty hard, the thirteenth we passed the *Scheirches*. The same Day we saw *Mafata*, a Maritime Town in *Sicily*. The fourteenth in the Morning we had the Island *Gozo* in View, and in the Afternoon we entered the Haven of *Malta*, where Mr. *Perez* and I immediately went ashore, and took up our Lodgings at the House of one Mr. *Nicolas* a *Frenchman*, with whom also our Captain lodged while we staid. It seems he had more Business in this Island than we were aware of; for the same Evening at Supper he told us, that he believed he should not sail in a Fortnight, or perhaps twenty Days, which determined us to visit the Island, and gave me an Opportunity of practising first the Rules I had laid down to myself, as to the Method of my Inquiries during my Travels.

THERE are about the Haven of *Malta* three Cities, of which in the Order we saw them. First, the City of *Valetta*, so called from the Grand Master who so gallantly defended the Island against the *Turks*, it was built *Anno Domini* 1566, and stands between the great and little Ports, extremely well fortified, and farther secured by the Vicinity of the Castle of St. *Elino*, which many Engineers have pronounced impregnable, yet I believe its greatest Strength lies in the Valour of the *Knights* who guard it. It is built upon the very Point of Land, with a grand *Piazza* before it, under which is a vast Magazine of all sorts of Commodities. In it
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the *Knights* are imprisoned for Offences, and in the midst of it is a Tower, from the Top of which there is a fair Prospect of the whole Island.

As to the City itself, it is as regular as the Nature of its Situation, on a Rock will allow it. The Streets are not paved, nor is it very necessary, they are a little uneven, except the two chief Streets, where live the Merchants and most eminent Citizens. There may be in this Place about 2000 Houses, and 10000 Inhabitants, allowing five to a House; these for the most part are low built, and tho' tollerably convenient, yet not beautiful to the Eye, by Reason of their flat Roofs covered with a neat white Plaister, which render them very convenient in the Summer Time, the People sleeping there for the Sake of Coolness, happy in the clear and constant Temperature of their Air, which prevents their suffering by a Custom which in other hot Countries would be extremely fatal. Towards the South West there is a very strong Wall with Bastions, half Moons, and other Out-works, and beyond it about half a quarter of an *English* Mile, another Wall running from Port to Port. Within the Space included within these Walls, the Inhabitants of the Island in Case of a Seige, have Room to encamp when forced out of the open Country. All the Bastions are hollow, that in Case of Necessity they may be blown up, most of them have triple Batteries, and some have four, well mounted, and in good Order.

THEY are in Time of Peace kept in excellent Order, and on some of them there are Convents and Gardens, which are very airy and pleasant. The Cathedral Church of *St. John* is small, but very fine, neither can
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one Figure to one's self a grander Sight than the beholding the *Grand Master* and the *Great Crosses*, with the Knights of the Order at their Devotions. There are in this Cathedral several neat Chappels, in adorning of which no Expence hath been spared. The Palace of the *Grand Master* doth not make a great Figure, but it is well contrived, and well furnish'd; there is in it a large Hall finely painted, and an Armoury which deserves to be viewed, there being Arms kept in exact Order, which would accommodate 25000 Men at least, besides the little Armoury, which belongs to the *Grand Master's* Household, and is also very curious.

THE Infirmary stands on an Island, and the great Hospital is a noble Building; to speak the Truth, the very Glory of *Malta*. Here the sick are provided for much better than they could be in their own Houses; there are but two in a Room, which is large and commodious, every Patient having two Beds for change, and a Closet with a Lock and Key to himself. The sick are served by the Knights in Person, their Diet is prescribed by the Physicians, and brought up in Silver Dishes; such exact Order being observed, and every Thing being performed with such Magnificence, as surprizes Strangers, and gives them a high Idea of the Charity of this illustrious Order.

THE Prison for the Slaves is a very considerable Place, it is a fine square Building adorned with a Piazza, and at least 2000 Slaves belonging to the Order lodge therein, sometimes there are three or four Thousand; when these are out at Sea, as they must be when the Gallies of the Order go on any Expedition, then the Slaves of the Inhabitants are permitted to lie here, otherwise

otherwise they lodge at Home. These People, as at *Leghorn*, have only a small Lock on their Ankles, and are permitted to go at large in the Island, it being almost impracticable for them to make their Escape.

CROSSING the Harbour, you go over another City, called formerly *Il Borgo*, but since the repulsing of the *Turks* in 1565, *Citta Vittoriosa*; it is not very large, built upon a Tongue of Land thrust out into the Sea, at the End of which is the Castle of St. *Angelo*; it may contain about 800 Houses, and between 3 or 4000 Inhabitants; here are four or five Churches, and the most considerable Place in the City is the *Palace* of the *Inquisitor*. Opposite to the Neck of Land whereon this City stands, there is another Neck juts out, upon which stands a third City or great Town, called *L'Isola*, i. e. The Island, covered by the Castle of St. *Michael*, called since the raising of the Siege by the *Turks*, *La Citta Invitta*, i. e. The unconquered City. It may contain about 1000 Houses, and between 4 or 5000 Inhabitants.

IN the Haven between the Cities last mentioned lye the Ships and Gallies of the Order, and a great many other Vessels shut up with a Chain, so that none can go out without Leave; higher up in the Island stands *Citta Vecchia*, i. e. The old City, the ancient Capital of the Island; here is a Cathedral dedicated to St. *Peter*, the Bishop hath a Palace here, and the Place is surrounded with very strong Walls, and good Fortifications; tho' the Houses are but very indifferent, and there are but few People of Distinction that live here, tho' the Place is large, and seems to have been formerly much better peopled than at present.

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HAVING thus spoken briefly of the Cities or great Towns in this Island, I return to my own Affairs, and shall then give a summary Account of the Soil, Climate, Inhabitants, Government, Wealth, Trade, &c. of *Malta*, having taken extraordinary Pains to be well informed as to all those Particulars.

A *Sicilian* Physician whose Name was *Sprotti*, and who was very intimate with my Landlord, undertook to shew me the *Curiosities* of the Island, which he accordingly performed. We rode on Asses, which carried us perfectly well, especially for the first Hour or two ; for at length the poor Creatures are apt to tire. We saw the several *Houses of Pleasure* which the *Grand Master* hath in *Malta*, the Grotto of *St. Paul*, the petrified Serpent's Heads and Teeth, the Salt-Pits, and other *Curiosities*, of which I shall speak hereafter. This Physician, tho' a *Sicilian* by Birth, and educated at *Rome*, had spent the far greater part of his Life in *Malta*, for he was upwards of fifty, and had resided thirty five Years in *la Valetta*. He had taken abundance of Pains in collecting whatever had been publish'd, relating either to the Place, or to the Order of *St. John* ; so that if I had remained there three or four Months, I might have known all that could well be known in relation to either. His two great *Heroes* were the Grand Masters *Valette* and *Vignacourt*, of whom he spoke continually in Raptures.

THE first of these, *John de la Valette Parisot*, was a *French Gentleman* of a good Family, he was *Knight* of the *Language of Provence*. He was a Man who, if I may be allowed the Expression, had the *Signature* of a *Hero* ; he had a Majesty in his Presence which raised him

him above Envy, a Felicity in his Conduct which afforded Malice itself no Opportunity of speaking, a Candor in his Behaviour, which made him beloved by his very Enemies, Courage invincible, and yet so modest, that it never affected his Words, or hindered him from listening to his Prudence where a Shew of Courage would have been fatal. With these great Qualities, and the happiness of exerting them to Advantage, in the Space of two Years Time he passed through all the Dignities of the *Order*, and on the 21st of *August* 1557, was chosen *Grand-Master* with universal Applause.

In the *eight* first Years of his Government, the *Gal-
lies* of the *Order* made such terrible Depredations on the *Turks*, that *Solyman II.* resolved at last to rid himself of such terrible Enemies at all Events. With this View he sent *Piali* Bashaw in the Month of *May* 1565, with a Fleet of eleven *Sultanas* to convoy a Land Army embarked on a hundred and fifty large Transports, which was to be commanded by *Mustapha* Bashaw, who had Orders not to stir from the Siege till he had reduced the Place. The Army debarqued on the 20th of *May*, not without considerable Loss, the *Maltese* Horse behaved extremely well, and a Troop of *Sicilian* Banditti, consisting of 300 Men who had transported themselves thither, performed Wonders, and distinguished themselves by their Fidelity and Regularity during the whole Siege. The *Grand-Master* shew'd his great Wisdom, by his abandoning all the Posts of small Importance, and withdrawing his Troops into those where they might be useful. The Castle of *St. Elmo* was taken the 23d of *June*, after having sustained five As-

faults, in which the *Turks* lost as many thousand Men. The *Grand-Master* then slighted the Castle of St. *Ange-lo*, and withdrew his Forces into the *Burgh* and the *Isle*.

THE *Turks* next attack'd the Castle of St. *Michael* with incredible Fury, but being repulsed, they bent all their Force against the *Burgh*, where the *Grand-Master* was in Person; and having made several Breaches, gave a general Assault on the 21st of *August*; where, after a gallant Defence, they entered the Place, and fixed seven *Horse Tails* on the inner Gate. Then it was that the *Grand-Master* put himself at the Head of the *Corps de Reserve* of *Knights*, to whom with a very loud Voice, tho' at other Times he spoke very low, he said, *I shall not put you in Mind that you are Gentlemen, and the Flower of European Knights, I tell you only that you are Christians, and that Death is a Thing you ought rather to hope than to fear; come then my Brethren, let us die together in the Cause of CHRIST, like Men who have no Trust but in him.* This said, he fell upon the *Turks* with his handful of Men, and while this unequal Engagement lasted, all the People in *Malta* Men, Women, and Children, ran at once to the Breach with Weapons in their Hands, and drove the *Turks* from their Lodgments with prodigious Slaughter.

YET this would not have saved the Place, the *Grand-Master* having now a Town in Ruins, and not above 6000 effective Men, whereas the *Turkish* Army consisted still of between 70 or 80,000 Men, had not on the 7th of *September* Don *Garcias de Toledo* appeared before *Malta* with his Fleet, and having waited till the
Suc-

Succours he debarqued, were safely arrived in the old City, he hoisted Sail for *Messina*, leaving a Message behind him, that as surely as he had visited the *Christians* now, in fourteen Days he would visit the *Turks*. But they saved him the Trouble, for *Mustapha* Bashaw, having on the 13th of the same Month made a general Discharge of his *Artillery* in the Morning, embarked all his Troops at Midnight, and set Fire to his Camp, after having lost between 20 and 30,000 of his best Troops. After the Siege was raised, the *Grand-Master* immediately resolved to build a new City on the Point of Land which ran out into the middle of the Sea; accordingly on the 28th of *March* 1566, he laid the first Stone in Person, over a number of Gold, Silver, and Copper Medals, whereon was his own Bust with an Inscription to this Effect; *He hath founded it on a Rock*, the People shouting all the while, *Long live the great VALETTE*.

ALL the *Christian* Princes in Communion with the Church of *Rome*, promised to contribute largely towards defraying the Expence of this Undertaking; but the Money coming in slowly, and the Wages of the Workmen amounting to 2000 Crowns a Day, the *Grand-Master* coined small Copper Pieces with this Inscription, *Non Æs sed Fides*, i. e. *Not Coin but Faith*; and upon giving his Honour that they should be exchanged for Crowns, carried the Affair through with the same Expedition with which it was begun.

THE *Pope* to shew his high Esteem for so deserving a Person, offered the *Grand-Master* a Cardinal's Hat, who modestly refused it, saying, *Ecclesiastical Honours suited not a Man whose Hands were stained with Blood*.

Two Years after, *viz.* in 1568, on the 21st of *August*, the Day on which he was chosen *Grand-Master*, *La Valette* yielded up the Ghost, behaving in his last Sickness with such exemplary Devotion, that if he had not before acquired the Character of the greatest Soldier, he would certainly have been esteem'd from thence, the greatest Pattern of Piety of the Age in which he lived. He was succeeded by *Pietro de Monte* an *Italian*, who on the 18th of *March* 1571, entered the City of *Valetta* at the Head of his *Knights*, and established there the *Residence* of the *Order*.

ALOPHIUS de Vignacour, Chief of the Language of *France*, was elected *Grand-Master* of the *Order* of *Malta* in *February* 1601, during his Reign, the *Turks* had frequently a Desire of invading this Island; but the *Grand-Master* being a Man of much Complaisance, would not give them the Trouble of coming so far to prove the Courage of his *Knights*, for equipping larger Squadrons than usual, he took now one Place in the *Morea*, then another in the *Archipelago*; the next Year he invaded *Barbary*, and by and by threatened *Egypt*, making an infinite Number of *Turks* Slaves, and drawing immense Treasures into the Coffers of the *Order*. He did not however suffer them to remain there long, but expended them in fortifying all the Coasts, and adorning all the inland Part of the *Island*.

HE it was who released the Inhabitants of *la Valetta* from the Slavery of preserving Rain Water, which was all they had for Use, by building an *Aqueduct* which supplies the City with Water, and by an Engine of his Invention is forced near its Fountains into leathern Troughs, which being carried over the Rocks,

fill

fill without farther Trouble the Water Vessels of Ships which lie in the Harbour. He repaired all the publick Edifices in *Malta*, restored decaying Inscriptions, and having governed with the highest Reputation and Felicity 21 Years, died universally regretted in the Year 1622.

AFTER our Visit to the several remarkable Places in the open Country of *Malta*, Seignior *Sprotti* and I returned to the City, and found there my Friend *Perez*, and the Family not a little embarrassed. Our Man *Antonio* grew enamour'd of a *Fleming's* Daughter, who lived at next Door, which being discovered by her Father, he caused a Billet to be thrown over the Wall into our Landlord's Yard, inviting *Antonio* in the Name of his Daughter to his House at Midnight, assuring him that the Door should be left open, and a Person wait there to conduct him to his Mistress. *Antonio* was too much a *Cavalier* not to be punctual; when he came he found the Door and the Servant as he had been promised, saw his Mistress, and was conducted by her into a Bed-chamber, where by some Accident the Light went out; however he found his Way to Bed in the Dark, but in the Morning opening a Lettice that he might have Light enough to dress himself by, he saw in the Bed an old *Negro*, the most ugly that ever was beheld of the whole Race.

HE flew home with all imaginable Speed, but found the News of his Adventure had out-run him; whereupon he raised a terrible Out-cry, vowing Revenge, and threatening Death to the Man and all his Family. When I came home, however, he became a little quieter, and told me at Night, as I was going to Bed, that his Passion

was all a Feint, that his Mistress had staid with him all Night, and that the whole was a Contrivance to deceive her Father. With this Story *Antonio* satisfied himself, and talk'd no more of Blood and Slaughter. Happy for him that our next Door Neighbour was not a *Maltese*, if he had, *Antonio* would have been dismiss'd to the other World without the Ceremony of such an Appointment. The rest of the Time I remain'd in the Island, I employed in drawing up the Notes, which serv'd for framing, when I had more Leisure, the following Account of *Malta*, as to its ancient and present State.

It is, I think, universally agreed, that the modern Name of this Island is taken from its ancient Appellation, viz. *Melita*. But whence this Name is derived, is a Dispute not so easily decided; the most probable Account, however, is, that it comes from *Mel*, *Honey*; of which there is great Plenty, and that excellent in its kind. The Learned also dispute, whether it is a *European* or an *African* Island; Custom hath carried it in Favour of the former, but Reason seems to be on the Side of the latter, since the People look like *Africans*, and speak a broken kind of *Arabick*.

As to its Situation, it hath 35 d. and 50 m. North Latitude, and 14 d. of Longitude East from *London*. In the Summer it is extremely hot, as appears from the Complexion of its Inhabitants, though it is affirmed that all the Summer long there are Breezes which render the Mornings and Evenings not only temperate, but pleasant; but in the Spring and Winter, instead of Breezes, they have very furious Winds, which take their Passage like a hostile Army through the Island, and carry all before them.

THE

THE Soil cannot be stiled unfruitful, though it is commonly reported so by Authors, whereas there are some who cry it up as the most fruitful in the World; the Truth is, the greater Part of *Malta* is a down-right Rock, and consequently barren; but the Ground where there is any, though it be but a Foot deep, is fertile to Admiration. It bears all sorts of Corn, but especially *Barley*, *Cummin* wild and sweet, *Cotton*, esteemed the finest in the Universe; also Vines, from whence they have *Raisins*, as large as *Prunes*, both red and white, which bear a great Price; *Olives*, *Almonds*, *Figs*, the finest that can be imagined; *Peaches* as large as our ordinary *Melons*, *Apricots*, *Dates*, and most *European* Fruits. Flowers and Herbs every where abound, especially *Roses*, which in Beauty and Odour surpass those of *Europe* very much.

To be more particular, the *Maltese* spare no Pains to remove the natural Imperfections of their Country; they suffer no Dung to remain a Moment in the Streets or Highways, but gather it like Treasure in their Baskets, and immediately carry it to their Gardens or Fields. They import also Earth from *Sicily* as Ballast, and carry it to such bare Places of the Island as are best seated for receiving Water as well as Sun-shine. By these Helps, and the Industry of their *Turkish* and *Moorish* Slaves, they raise yearly *eighty thousand* Measures of Corn, of which half is *Barley*; *fifteen thousand* hundred Weight of *Cummin*, and about *fourteen* hundred thousand Weight of *Cotton*, amounting in all to the Value of 760000 *Scudi* or 152000 *l.* Sterling.

As to Animals, they have the same, and the same Plenty as in other Parts of *Europe*. Their *Horses*, employed

ployed in carrying Burthens, and in drawing Carriages, are unshod ; their Asses strong, and very fit for riding ; to make them the more so, they slit the Side of each Nostril, by which Means the Creature breaths more freely. The *Dogs* and *Cats* of *Malta* are particularly handsome, and for that Reason are much coveted in *Sicily*, and *Italy*. The *Grand Master* has a good Stable of Horses for the Saddle and Coach, as have also the *Great Crosses*. The Inhabitants of the Island maintain a thousand Horse fit for Service, or any Emergency, and which are review'd twice a Year.

IN ancient Times the Inhabitants of *Malta* were famous throughout all *Europe* for their Skill in maritime Affairs, their extensive Commerce, and for their refined Luxury, as appears from one of the Orations of *Cicero* against *Verres*, in which he upbraids him with being as voluptuous as a *Maltese*. *Appian* informs us, that *Cæsar* had much ado to reduce these People when they had revolted ; by degrees however, they grew low and poor. At length they became subject to the *Spaniards*, by whom the Island was transfer'd to the Knights of St. *John*, tho' an annual Present of a *Falcon* is reserved to the King of *Spain*, as a Recognizance of his Sovereignty. The present People of *Malta* speak a Sort of barbarous *Arabick*, are altogether *Africans* in their Manners, and are without question as luxurious and debauched as any Nation can be. The Women are handsome, well-shaped, and for the most part very amorous, though they affect to be excessively religious, which hinders not their Husbands from being outrageously jealous ; and this being join'd to their natural Cruelty and Love of Revenge, produces frequently very direful Effects.

As

As to the Government of the Island, it is entirely in the Hands of the *Grand Master*, who stiles himself Prince of *Malta* and *Gozza*. He is not, however, absolute, but is in most Cases assisted by his Council, in some by a *General Chapter* of the *Knights*. The *Grand Master* at this Time was *Nicholas Cottoner*, a *Majorcan*, who succeeded his Brother *Raphael Cottoner*, who governed but three Months, and died 1663. He was a Person of low Stature, but a handsome Man, very affable and courteous to Strangers, who visit him always as soon as conveniently They can after their Arrival. The *Knights* are distinguished into *three* Classes. The first, stiled *Knights of Justice*, are obliged to prove their Nobility for four Descents; they bear a Cross of Gold, with which They are not invested, till they have been abroad *three* Years. The second are Priests of the Order, who bear also Crosses of *Malta*, but not of Gold, without the Permission of the *Grand-Master*. The third Class are stiled *Servitors*, and These again are divided into *Servitors of Arms* and of *Office*; and the former take the same Oaths with *Knights*, and are capable of being admitted to the lesser Dignities of the Order, which the *Servitors of Office* are not. The *Knights* are also divided into eight Languages or Provinces, each of which hath its *Albergo* or *Inn*, where the *Knights* eat together in Publick under the Government of one who is stiled chief of the Language. Of these the first is *Provence*, and the last *Germany*. The sixth was *England*; and there is still a void Space left for the *Albergo* of our Nation, of which there is also a Prior, who piques himself much on paying great Civilities to such of the *English* as at any Time come hither.

THE

THE Number of the Knights is uncertain, but there are generally some Thousands, of whom eight or nine Hundred are usually resident in *Malta*, the rest are at their Commanderies with their Relations, or serve aboard the Gallies. Of these seven belong to the Order, each of which is a fine stout Vessel, carries twenty or thirty Knights, and about five hundred Men. Besides these there are thirty or forty Ships fitted out by Licence from the Grand Master, to cruize upon the *Turks*, which they do with such Effect, that the Order is extremely rich in Money, as well as in Revenues, which are held to be not much less than one hundred and fifty thousand Pounds *per Annum*, of which thirty thousand belong to the Grand Master. It is supposed that twenty thousand fighting Men may be levy'd in the Island, and that there are in it not less than sixty thousand Souls. For the Maintenance of these three Fourths of the Provision comes from *Sicily*, which yet come plentifully to Market, and at moderate Prices. I will now speak of the Curiosities of the Island, natural and artificial, and so leave it.

OF the first we may reckon the *Scorpions*, and as some say, the *Speckled Snakes*, which are now and then found in this Island, perfectly harmless, and free from Venom. Nay, it is said that the native *Maltese* are invulnerable from these Sort of Creatures where-ever they go.

ABOUT ten Miles from *Valetta* is the *Cala di Santa Paolo*, or the Grotto of St. Paul, near the Place where he is supposed to have landed; though some will have it that he was never here, but that the Island on which he was ship-wreck'd is that call'd *Melita*, in the Gulph of *Ragusa*;

Ragusa ; but this Notion is rather singular than probable. In the Neighbourhood of this Place they pretend to shew Serpents turned into Stone, as also petrify'd Eyes, Teeth, and Eggs, of Serpents, which are believed to have a great Efficacy in curing the Bites of these Sort of Creatures, and are therefore exported in great Quantities. There is also a Spring of very sweet Water, which is said to have risen miraculously at the Command of St. *Paul*, for whom the *Maltese* in general have an extraordinary Devotion. From these natural Curiosities let us proceed to those of Art ; and amongst these I know none that deserve Consideration more than the Pleasure-Houses of the Grand Master, of which he has several.

BOSCHETTO, or *Monteverdala*, is the most admired. It stands two Miles from the old City, and is without question one of the finest Places that can be imagined, that is, all Things considered ; for though this Pleasure-House and its Gardens would make a very fine Shew in *Italy*, or in *France*, yet what is admirable, what amazes and ravishes the Spectator is, to find it and them in *Malta*. On this Account I call them Curiosities of Art, because they not only borrow little or nothing from Nature, but are on the other hand made in Spight of her ; so that whereas elsewhere she appears like a Queen and a Mistress, here she acts like an obedient Servant, or rather like a Slave, forced hither against her Will.

THE Case, not to deal longer in general Descriptions, is this, the Place Cardinal *Verdala*, who was once Grand Master of the Order, chose for his Pleasure-house, was a Rock absolutely barren, and alike exposed to the Sun and to the Winds ; so that except its lofty Situation, it had nothing to recommend it ; and, in the Eyes of
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any but Cardinal *Verdala*, this would have passed for an extraordinary Inconvenience, considering the Heats of *Malta*. But he was a Man of exalted Understanding, and had such Ideas of Magnificence, that, by endeavouring to do it Honour, he had like to have ruin'd the Order. In the first place, he hewed his Palace out of the Rock, a square Building with four Towers, having in the Middle a grand *Salon*, finely painted with the Stories of this Cardinal's Life. From the House, towards the Sea, he caused the Rock to be cut down, so as to have a Descent from his House through a Range of fine Pillars to that Part which overlooks the Sea, and affords a Prospect of the neighbouring Island and *Sicily*. All this being performed, he had the hollow Part of the Rock filled up with fine Mould, brought thither in Ships and Barks; the Skirts of the Garden he planted with Olives, adorned all its Walks with Orange, Lemon and Citron Trees; of Flowers and sweet-smelling Herbs there never was so great a Quantity any where amassed, but what gives an inexpressible Air of Paradisaical Beauty to this Place, is the Disposition of the Vines, which being planted at the Feet of the Pillars, turn round them; and being platted at the Top, form a covered Arbour of a Mile, opening, as I have observed, upon the Sea. In this Garden there is not only very fine fresh Water, but it is also put to all the Uses of Fountains and Cascades that could be devised by the teeming Imagination of a luxurious Cardinal. All the Apartments of the Castle are disposed Terras-wise for the Enjoyment of the Garden; and that this Pleasure-House may be distinguish'd from all other Pleasure-Houses, its Battlements are surmounted by sixteen Pieces of Brass Cannon, over which, on any Solemnity, flies the

the Banner of *Malta*. There are in the Island many other beautiful Pleasure-Houses, but none comparable to this, with the Description of which I will take Leave of the Place.

THE Island of *Goza*, which belongs also to the *Grand-Master*, is divided from *Malta* by a narrow Channel of the Sea ; it is of an oval Form, about three Miles long, somewhat more than half as broad, and about twenty-one in Circuit. Its Coasts are so steep, that one may look upon it as fortified by Nature. In respect to its Air, its Soil, and its Products, it very much exceeds *Malta*, it being every where wholesome, pleasant, and fertile. The Number of the Inhabitants may be about five or six thousand, but they live dispersed thro' the Island, and not in *Casals* or Villages, as they do in *Malta*. The *Grand-Master* bears the Title of Prince of *Goza*, and its Commodities, notwithstanding its small Extent, yield annually about a third Part as much as those of *Malta*. There are also on the Coasts of this Island, as well as *Malta*, some Rocks and little Places under the Jurisdiction of the *Grand-Master* ; but as they produce little, they are not worth mentioning.

THE last Day of the old Year we sailed from *Malta* with a fair Wind, the next Day, and the Day following, we had the Wind still fair, but a little fresher ; on the third it blew very hard, especially towards the Evening. On the fourth we had a Sight of *Candia*, and 'till Noon we had fine Weather, from thence, till Midnight, the Wind gathered Strength every Moment. In the Morning we had a terrible Storm, attended with what the *English* Seamen, who use the *Levant* Trade, call *Bastard-Spouts*. These are occasioned by the Air's drawing

ing up into a Cloud a great Quantity of Water as it were with a Pump, which being carried a considerable Way in the Shape of long Tails hanging down from the Heavens, at length discharge all their Water either into the Sea, or into a Vessel, if it is so unfortunate as to come in the Way. These are called *Bastard Spouts*, to distinguish them from the true ones, called simply *Spouts*, which are infinitely more terrible. These appear like Pillars descending from Heaven, and in proportion as they drop towards the Water, the Water boils up to meet them. At length these Spouts dip as it were into the boiling Water, and having filled themselves therewith, pass along sometimes with a very brisk, at other Times with an interrupted or languid Motion. It is said that Ships of great Burthen have been extremely damaged by these Spouts, and it is conjectured that many smaller Ships have perished by them. The lesser Sort, which we saw, happen usually after Storms, but these larger Spouts are most frequent in stark Calms. On the fifth, the Weather grew fine again, but on the sixth we had very bad weather, with much Rain and Hail. The next Day, by Noon, all was fair again; and it being the Birth-Day of our Captain, he gave a handsome Entertainment to all on board. The Passengers dined as usual at his own Table, and their Servants with the Seamen and under Officers. Our Feast began about Evening, and lasted 'till Morning. We had very good Provisions, and excellent Wine of several Sorts. But what diverted me most, was the Conversation at Table which was so much the more agreeable, on account of its being instructive, every Body taking Pains to furnish something worth hearing; and being as they were Men of different Professions,

Professions, and who had spent their Days in an active kind of Life, their Discoveries were above the ordinary Level, and deserved not only Attention, but Preservation. The Captain particularly entertained us, but not till he was thoroughly opened by Wine, with a very singular Story, which he had from the very Mouth of the Man whom it concerned: It pleased me so well, that I committed it to Writing, as a wonderful Instance of the Divine Providence in ordering the Affairs of Men, and as a noble Encouragement to preserve our Spirits, and the Use of our Reason in the Midst of the greatest Dangers, out of which, if we trust in God, and use the Means he has given us, we may frequently escape notwithstanding the strongest Appearances of inevitable Ruin.

It is, said the Captain, about 30 Years ago, that being in Company at *Rotterdam* with several Merchants, Captains of Ships, and Pilots, at an annual Feast, my Companions were very urgent on an old Man whose Name as I remember was *William Bontiko*, to relate to them his Sufferings in the *Indies*, which they had all heard much of from others, and concerning which they were very desirous to have a distinct Recital from his own Mouth. The old Man was easily intreated, and when he perceived the Company silently attending the Detail of his Adventures, he delivered himself very gravely to this Purpose. In the Month of *November* 1619, I sailed in Quality of Master on board a Vessel of 1200 Tuns, bound for the Streights of *Sunda*. On the 19th of that Month, when we were in the Height of five Degrees and a half, and thought ourselves near those Streights, by some Accident or other our Powder took

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Fire,

Fire, and blew up myself and 119 Persons, those who escaped this Disaster betaking themselves to the Yawl and the Skiff. I was very sensible as I rose in the Air of my Misfortune, and cry'd out aloud, *This Lord is my Road, have Mercy on my Soul, and receive me into Heaven.* When I fell it was in the midst of the broken Pieces of our Ship, which in a few Minutes was torn to Shatters. The Water revived me, and finding myself between the great and the mizen Masts, I with much ado got upon the former. When I had settled myself thereon, I looked about me, and I perceived at a small Distance a young Man of my Acquaintance sitting upon a Plank; I immediately called to him and desired him to come as near to me as he could, for that I was so wounded that I was incapable of making any Effort to come to him. The young Man did so, and with very much ado I got upon the same Plank.

By this Time those in the Yawl and Skiff perceived us, and immediately rowed towards us, not daring however to approach too near, lest they should suffer by the floating Wreck. My Companion slipping off the Plank easily swam on Board, but as for me I was forced to cry out, that my Wounds had disabled me from swimming, and that if they had a Mind to save me, they must come nearer. Upon which a *Musician*, my old Acquaintance, laid hold of a Rope, and jumping at once into the Sea, swam to the Plank on which I fate, and having fastened the Rope about my middle, dragg'd me after him to the Yawl, where with some Difficulty they took me in, my Spirits being so far spent, that I was absolutely incapable of helping myself. As soon as I was on Board, they laid me under a little Auning,
and

and did what they could to give me Ease; I had two dangerous Wounds in my Head, and it was the Opinion of my Companions, as well as of myself, that they were mortal; however, I did not fail to exert, as I conceived, my last Breath for their Preservation, by recommending it to our Factor, and the rest on Board, to keep all Night as near as possible to the Wreck, that when it should be light the next Day, they might be able to get a Compass and some other Instruments on Board, as also Provisions, of all which they stood in great need.

BUT while I reposed myself as well as I could, the Factor hoping the next Day to gain the Shore, and either not heeding, or not believing what I had said, commanded the Men to row with all their Might, which accordingly they did, and the Consequence was, that when it grew Light, we could not see either Wreck or Land. In this Distress the People cast their Eyes upon me as the only Person capable of advising them. All I could do was to encourage them in general Terms, to exhort them to Constancy, and to beseech them to act unanimously for their common Safety. I then directed that the Number of Persons should be counted, which was accordingly done, and it appeared from thence, that there were 46 in the Yawl, and 26 in the Skiff. Our Provisions, which consisted chiefly in Bread, were very short, and as for Water we had none. I saw it was impossible without Food for us to support much Labour, and therefore I proposed laying aside our Oars, and trying to make Sails with our Shirts joined together. This Motion was immediately agreed to, and I was thereupon going to pull off my Shirt, but

my Companions would not permit me on account of my Wounds and Weakness. They gave me moreover a Watch Coat, and a Fur Cap, which they found in one of the Lockers, and our *Barber* tore a Piece of his Shirt, and having spread thereon some Bread which he had chewed, applied it by Way of Poultice to my Wounds, whereby, or rather by the Providence of God, they were speedily cured.

THE Yawl and Skiff being provided with these poor Sails, we kept as well as we could before the Wind, steering by the Stars, and suffering much from the Weather, which if it fry'd us in the Day, froze us in the Night ; so that in 24 Hours we felt the utmost Rigour of Summer and Winter. By Chance a Person in the Yawl had a pair of Compasses in his Pocket, as soon as I was informed of this, I began to think of making Instruments. Accordingly, having described a Circle on a Board, I divided a Quadrant pretty exactly into Degrees, by the Help of which I made a Cross-Staff, with which we took Observations. I also laid down on the Top of an old Box a sort of Chart, whereon I described the Isle of *Sumatra*, that of *Java*, and the Streight of *Sunda* between those two Islands, supposing the Shipwreck to have happen'd at about the Distance of ninety Miles from Shore. I likewise kept as good a Reckoning as I could, that in case we made Land we might have some Notice where we were. As for Provisions and Water, that was without my Power ; what Bread we had was quickly gone, tho' we husbanded it to the utmost, Rain Water we saved when it fell, in two empty Barrels, but this Relief we often wanted.

ONCE

ONCE a great Number of *Sea Mews* came on Board both our Vessels, where we knock'd them on the Head, pluck'd them, and eat them raw. Another Time when we had tasted nothing a whole Day, a great shoal of flying Fish came cross our Vessels, of which we catch'd a good Number, and eat them too raw. Those in the Skiff having none amongst them who understood Navigation, and being sometimes in Danger of seperating from us, desired as the Yawl was large to be taken on Board, which Request, after some Intreaty we granted. After this, absolute Famine staring us in the Face, I had much ado to hinder the Crew from eating the Boys ; and at last Despair carry'd it so far, that the Men absolutely declared, if we saw not Land in three Days Time, they would preserve themselves, by killing and eating those unhappy Youths. In the Afternoon of the last Day it began to rain, and we slackened our Sails in order to fill our Casks.

TOWARDS Evening, as I was at the Helm, I perceived evident Signs of our being near the Shore ; but finding myself so cold, as to be no longer able to perform my Office, I put the Rudder into the Hands of an experienced Sailor, and lay down to Rest ; but I had not quitted the Helm an Hour, before I heard him cry aloud, *Courage my Lads, we are near the Land* ; indeed we were so near, that before it was quite dark, we reached the Shore, and found a convenient Creek, from whence without Difficulty we got on shore. We presently found some Cocoa Trees, and refreshed ourselves with their Nuts and Liquor. For this Relief I blessed God, whom I saw to be the best Pilot, and who by his Mercy delivered the Boys amongst us, from that Death

they would inevitably have undergone the next Day. When it was light the next Morning, we perceived that we had ran on Ground in an uninhabited Island, which produced nothing fit for Food, excepting only the Cocoa Nuts before-mentioned; of these we took a sufficient Number into the Boat, and then made all the Sail we could for the *Continent*, which lay over-against this Island.

WE sailed along the Coast the greatest Part of the Day, without being able to find any Place where we might attempt to land. At last some of the Crew swam on Shore, and having discovered the Mouth of the River, made a Waft to inform us thereof, and we bearing away according to their Signal, found the Mouth of the River, but choak'd with such a Bar of Sand, as gave but little Hopes of our being able to pass over it, without exposing ourselves to total Destruction. Upon which I thought it convenient to speak to all our Crew after this manner: *My Friends, I will not undertake to run our Vessel over this Bank into the Mouth of the River, without the Consent of you all, and your Promise not to upbraid me let what will happen, since I give you this previous Notice of your Danger.* They all cried aloud, that they were determined to risque this Passage; and that they would no Way make me accountable for complying with their Commands. Then I went to the Helm, having ordered an Oar to be put out on each Side, at the other End of the Vessel, two of our strongest Men being placed at each Oar, to keep the Vessel steady, this done, we steered for the Bar.

IN passing, the first Wave fill'd the Vessel half full of Water, which our Men emptied as fast as they could with their Hats, and the little Barrels in which we kept our Water. The second Breach of the Water fill'd us as full as we could hold, and overfet us on one Side into the Bargain ; upon which I cryed out, *At it my Lads, clear the Vessel of the Water or we are all lost.* They laboured with all their might, and having with much ado got her upright, quickly cleared her of the Water. The third breaking of the Sea happily missed our Vessel, and the Water rising suddenly under our Keel, we were speedily over the *Bar*, and presently got all safe a shore, through the Protection of divine Providence. We found in the Neighbourhood of the Creek a good quantity of *Beans*, a Fire lighted, and some *Tobacco*, which we judged to be left there by some of the Inhabitants. We sat down without Ceremony, and made Use of all we found. Two old Hatchets that were in our Vessel proved of great Use to us now ; with them we cut down Wood enough to supply the Fire, as also to arm ourselves with each a tough Staff, for we were apprehensive that the *Savages* might attack us.

WHETHER our Hurry lessened or encreased our Disorder I know not, but at the coming in of Night, we were all terribly sick with the *Beans*, and incapable of taking Rest. In the midst of this Distress, the *Savages* came down to cut our Throats, two Hatchets, a rusty Sword, and the Staves we had cut, were all the Arms we had, the latter we thought fit to stick in the Fire, and when they were thoroughly on Flame at the Top, we drew them out, and marched towards the Enemy, who either terrified with our Appearance, for

the Night was prodigious dark, or whether they apprehended that we were better armed, so it was, that they retired into a Wood, and we back to our Fire. The next Day three of the *Savages* advanced out of the Wood, to whom we sent three of our Seamen to treat with them. The first Enquiry they made was as to our Country; our Seamen who were very well acquainted with the Tongues commonly spoken in the *Indies*, told them that we were *Hollanders*, and that our Ship blowing up at Sea, we were obliged to put in there for Refreshment. Upon this they said somewhat of *Java*, and repeated two or three Times the Name of *Hans Coen* our General there, then they enquired what Arms we had, we answered, a good Number of Musquets, and Powder and Ball in abundance.

ON board I put every Thing to Rights as well as it was possible, that we might hide our Weakness from them as far as we were able. Some Rice and Fowls we bought and paid for, having about 80 Crowns amongst us. The next Day I went with four of our Sailors to the Village with all our Money, to buy Provision for our Voyage. After Dinner we agreed for a Buffalo, but it proved so wild, that we were not able to manage it, for in going back to the Vessel it broke loose; we pursued it till it was Night to no Purpose, the Seamen then begged me to return to our People, resolving to stay themselves, in order to catch the Buffalo in the Morning. With much ado I complied with their Request, and on my Return to the Vessel related our Adventure, our People were mighty uneasy at the Accident, and grew more so when all the next Morning passed without any News either of the Buffalo, or our Companion.

IN the Afternoon however came two *Savages* with another Buffalo, I told them I was positive that was not the Beast I bought the Day before, upon which they readily confessed that it was not, but said, as we bought that, they did not know but we might buy this, we then enquired what was become of our Sailors ; they answered, that they had not yet got the Buffalo, but they would come by and by. With this we were forced to be content, being able to get no better, and having agreed with them for the other Buffalo, and paid them for it, we found the Creature so unruly, that we were forced to get our *Butcher* to knock it down with one of the Axes. As soon as the Beast fell, the two *Savages* set up a horrible Cry, upon which instantly 2 or 300 of their Companions issued out of the Wood, where they lay in Ambuscade, and came rushing furiously upon us, discharging as soon as within Reach a whole Shower of Darts, and then attempting to board our Vessel, which with much ado most of us had gained before they reached us.

I CANNOT say we fought courageously, for in Truth we were in such Despair, that we thought of nothing but selling our Lives as dear as we could ; the Men who had the Hatchets did terrible Execution, and our *Baker*, who was a very strong Fellow, dealt his Blows with our rusty Sword so freely, that he twice or thrice clear'd the Vessel of the *Savages*, and thereby saved us from Destruction. All our Efforts however would have been useless, if there had not sprung up a brisk Gale from Shore, which quickly carried us out of the Reach of our Enemies, and gave us Leisure to consider our new Situation. We lost in the Engagement 16 Men, including the 4
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who were left the Night preceding, and who without Doubt had their Throats cut by these barbarous People. We sailed along the Coast, our Stock of Provisions consisting only of eight Fowls and a little Rice, a poor Supply for 56 Persons who were yet left; however we divided it equally, and husbanded it as well as we could for several Days.

HUNGER at last forced us once more to think of going ashore, which we accordingly did, on a little Island inhabited indeed but thinly, where we found plenty of fresh Water, some wild Fowl, and Fruit; but what rejoiced us most, was the great plenty of large Canes, called *Bamboos*, of these we cut Numbers, and having burnt through their Joints, filled them with Water, for which they were the most excellent Casks that we had seen for a long Time. While our Men were thus employed, I went alone to the Top of a very high Hill, where looking about me, I saw at a Distance blew Mountains, I then remembered that I had heard *William Schouten*, the famous Pilot say, that in two or three Voyages he had made to the *Indies*, he had observed two Mountains of that Colour, over-against the Point of the Island of *Java*. This made me still more attentive, I remarked that these Mountains were on my right Hand, that we had sailed along the left Coast of *Sumatra*, and that in the middle there appeared a fair opening in the Sea; upon this I went down, and acquainted our Factor with what I had observed, and with my Reasons for believing that we were at the Mouth of the Streight of *Sunda*. He readily came into my Opinion, whereupon we drew together our People, and having got our Water on Board put to Sea.

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ABOUT Midnight we saw Fire at a Distance, which we conceived to have been in some Vessel, but it proved to be an Island in the Streight of *Sunda*. We passed by it, and came in a short Space to another Island. In the Morning I ordered one of the Men to the Mast Head, who had not been there long before he cried out, *Courage my Lads, I see Ships riding in a Road, and I have counted twenty-three*. These Words revived us all, and because the Weather was quite calm, we betook us to our Oars, that we might sooner reach the Fleet. It lay before *Bantam*, with which we were then at War, and was commanded by *Frederick Houtman* of *Alckmar*. The General happened to be at this Time in his Gallery, and having viewed our Sail with his Perspective, he was so struck with the Oddity of its Form, that he sent his Shaloup to know what we were. We were quickly known to the Crew of that Vessel, having sailed with them out of the *Texel*, and kept them Company as far as the Coast of *Spain*.

THE Factor and I therefore went with them on Board the Admiral, who received us very kindly, and set us down to Table with him; but when I saw the Bread, the Meat, the Wine, and the Beer, my Heart was so full, that I burst into Tears, and could not eat at all; in a few Days however I recovered pretty well, and went with the Factor in a Vessel dispatched to *Batavia*, where we gave an Account of all that happened to us to the General of the *Dutch East-India Company*, who provided for us all Things in great Plenty, till our Return to *Holland*. The Company, said the Captain, to whom this Story was told, would have presented the old Man with some Money, but he absolutely

lutely refused it, saying his Circumstances did not require it. All the Company heard this Relation with great Attention, and I the rather committed it to Writing, because our Captain assured me, that to the best of his Knowledge it had not yet been Printed.

DOCTOR *Salviati* a *Genoese*, who had been both in the *East* and *West-Indies*, and was a Man of great Wit and Learning, entertained us with many Stories of his Adventures, as likewise did Seignior *Altoviti*, a *Neapolitan*, a most ingenious Man, with whom my Acquaintance took Birth in this Passage, and proved much more pleasant than useful. The 7th the Weather was fair, and our Captain declared to us in the Evening, that he thought himself about fourscore Leagues from *Alexandria*. But tho' there was little Wind, the Sea still ran high; so that we durst use but little Sail, tho' we were desirous enough of getting into Port. The 8th the Wind was fair, and we made a great deal of Way. On the 9th we were in Sight of Land, and about Noon came into the Port of *Alexandria*.

FOR the present Mr. *Perez*, myself, and our Servant *Antonio*, went to lodge with one *Veneroni*, an Acquaintance of our Captain's; thither also came Seignior *Altoviti*, who was our Companion in seeing all the Curiosities in and about this famous City, among which he could find none which deserved Admiration more than himself. He passed with us for a Traveller, whom Curiosity only led to visit *Egypt*; but he discoursed on all Subjects with such Fluency, and with such Appearance of Knowledge, that it was not easy to conceive he should make this Voyage with no other View. His peculiar Excellency was in finding out, and suiting himself

himself to every Man's Genius, Temper, and Pleasures ; so that he was not only the Companion, but the bosom Friend of Dr. *Salviati*, Mr. *Perez*, our Captain, myself, and even of *Antonio*, whom he knew how to play off for the Diversion of every Body without offending him, which was no light Secret.

HE loved Expence, came into all Propositions where Pleasure was in View, and paid for every Thing frankly, and like a Man of Quality. He liked Play as a Diversion, and tho' he did not shew any great Skill in it, he was generally successful. Tho' he never proposed high Stakes, yet he would readily make them to gratify a Loser, nor was it till after a very long Acquaintance, and upon a very particular Occasion, that I learned this was his Philosopher's Stone, and the Mine from whence he drew wherewith to subsist. He could not be at this Time above 50 Years of Age, and yet he was so well known in all Parts of *Europe*, that he was forced to take this Method for opening a new Vein as the Miners phrase it.

DR. *Salviati* came hither on the Business of his Profession ; he had been invited by two Brothers, who resided as Factors at *Alexandria*, to come and live with them, in order to take Care of their Health. The Doctor was about forty-six, had all the *Italian* Politeness, with a great deal of good Sense, and as much Sincerity as any Man could wish in a Friend. He went immediately to his Patrons, who received him with as much Affection as if he had been their nearest Relation, caused all his Things to be immediately brought to their House, and my great Bale with them at his Request, assigned him a large Apartment, and, in fine, did every thing
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for him which would have contented the most troublesome Man in the World, whereas of all Men he was the least so. The Doctor had but one Fault, which was, that he liked Play. This brought him to us every Day, though he generally lost his Money, and would have lost it always, if the *Neapolitan* had not had Skill enough to loose now and then to him, at least double as much as he won of him at any single Time.

OUR Affairs went on very happily from the very Moment of our Arrival. Signior *Altoviti*, to make his Court to us, exerted all his Diligence in procuring graved Stones, Medals, and such like Curiosities which he had Address enough to buy much cheaper than we could, and with which he furnished us at the Price he bought them, supposing us to be Men of Fortune, who collected them for our own Cabinets. The Doctor, who was not very curious this Way, having his Head turned entirely to Physick and Chemistry, frequently did us Favours in the same Way. As for *Antonio*, we gave him seven or eight Piasters, and in two or three Days he brought in a large Cargo, amongst which we generally found something of Value. From our first coming hither, I remark'd Mr. *Perez* did not much care for conversing with any of the *Jews*; and indeed where-ever he came he seemed to stand no less in Fear of them than of the Inquisition. He never condescended to give Reasons on this Head; but by putting together Things I have heard him say, it appeared to me that the *Jews* allowed of no Latitudinarians amongst them, but thought themselves at Liberty to punish any Man who in the constant Tenour of his Life disobey'd the Laws of *Moses*. On this Account, whenever I had any Transactions with *Jews*,
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I took care to keep them at a Distance, which I had all the Opportunity in the World of doing, Mr. *Perez* being a Man above Suspicion, as believing firmly that a Person who called himself his Friend, would never forfeit his Honour so far as to deceive him ; and as I was conscious to my self that I deserved the Trust he reposed in me, I took my Measures so as to serve our common Interest, without giving him any particular Cause of Displeasure.

THOSE People, I mean the *Jews*, carry on the greatest Part of the Trade of *Egypt*, and therefore all who have any Concerns therein have consequently something to do with them. We were recommended to one whose Name was *Abraham*, through the Means of Mr. *Fetherstone* ; and, on our first Arrival, I thought myself extremely happy in having Business to transact with him. He spoke *Italian*, *French*, and *Spanish* perfectly. He was known to, and had great Interest with not only the *Venetian* Consul, and the *French* Vice-Consul, but also the *Turkish* Officers, Civil and Military ; able in his Profession, polite in his Manners, and much better acquainted with Books than any *Jew* I ever met with who was not a *Rabbi*. With all these Qualifications, he was one of the most cunning, artful Knaves, that ever existed ; Many suspected him, but few or none durst publish their Suspicions, for he was so subtile in his Contrivances, and had such a mighty Interest, that whoever offended him, seldom escaped some great Mishap or other.

FOR my part, the first Affair I had with him, was the Sale of a Parcel of Coral which had been sorted by Mr. *Fetherstone*, and was not only excellent in its kind, but also very neatly wrought. He was so pleased with the
Samples

Samples I shew'd him, that he readily undertook to dispose of all that we had, which was somewhat more than two Quintals ; this accordingly he performed much to my Satisfaction, for he sold it for a thousand Piasters, whereas the *Venetian* Merchants, with whom Dr. *Salviati* lived, assured me that the Coral would not fetch above eight hundred and fifty. Before we came to make up the Accompt, my *Jew* shewed me abundance of Curiosities, some truly antique, but the greater Part of them evidently Counterfeits ; those which were of any Value, he set much too high a Price on ; and when I refused to take them, seemed to be not a little displeased ; however, he shewed me afterwards some colour'd Stones, such as *Chrysolites* and *Amethysts*, and at last some *Emeralds*, of which there are in *Egypt* some of great Value. Amongst these there were two, which if absolutely perfect, would have been valuable ; as they were, he asked three hundred Piasters for the one, and two hundred for the other ; I offer'd him two hundred and fifty for the largest ; to which, with some Difficulty, he agreed.

WHEN I brought the Stone home, I shew'd it to Mr. *Perez*, and asked him what he thought of it, he said, it might possibly be sold for one hundred and fifty Piasters, but that he would not give so much for it ; upon which I told him that I bought it for my self, in order to send it into *England* for a Present. I am sorry for it, said Mr. *Perez*, we must sell Stones as we find them, foul or clean ; but when we make Presents they should be absolutely perfect ; at which I smiled, telling him it was a *Spanish* Nicety ; but that there were many People who loved large Stones, rather than small ones of greater Value. My real Design in buying this Emerald was to try
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the Secret I had of freeing it from its Imperfection, but, at the same Time, I found the *Jew* had imposed upon me near half in half; notwithstanding which, and my allowing him a Half *per Centum* more than usual in the Sale of the Coral, he was so displeased at our not putting all Things into his Hands, that he could not forbear doing us privately ill Turns which we had no Way deserved, and which *Antonio* would have revenged in his own Way if I had not prevented him.

DURING our Stay in this City, which was longer than we at first conceived necessary, and which was much shorter than it ought to have been, since no Place was fitter for our Purpose. I say, during our Stay here, and within three Months after our Arrival, there happened a singular Adventure, which served to give us a great Idea of our own good Fortune, and proved, I think, the principal Motive to our taking abundance of needless Trouble in hopes of meeting with still better Luck, of which there would have been much more Probability if we had never left *Alexandria* at all.

THE Adventure was this: When I had Occasion to go abroad, I hired always the Ass of an old *Arab*, or, as they are call'd there, *Bedouin*, who spoke a sort of *Lingua franca*, and with whom I could, though not without some Difficulty, converse. This Man, on account of my giving him now and then somewhat more than the Hire of his Beast came to, which was in Truth very little, began to have a great Liking to me, the rather, I believe, because of my being more reserv'd and grave than the *Franks*, as they call the *Europeans*, usually are. It so happened one Day, that this poor Fellow having got Cold, complained

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much of a Pain in his Stomach ; with some Difficulty I got him to take a little of a Cordial in which Rhubarb had been also infused, which presently relieved him. When we came home, he told me that he would the next Day bring me some of the *Franks* Treasure, by which he meant Medals, and other Curiosities, which Travellers usually enquire for in *Egypt*. Accordingly the next Day he came and brought tied up in a coarse Cloth, as many Things as would have filled a Man's Hat : I did not examine them very carefully, because at first Sight I perceived that they were genuine and curious, but asked him what he would have for them ; he asked twenty Piasters, which in his Judgment was a vast Sum. I gave him twelve, and he went away not only satisfied, but over-joy'd.

THESE poor People live in the Vaults and Caverns among the Ruins of the ancient City of *Alexandria*. In these Places they have great Opportunities of finding Medals, Stones, Idols of green Earth, and other Curiosities. It seems a little before our Arrival there had been a very great Storm, accompanied with Rain, which washed down the Things the *Arab* sold me, with many more, into his Vault or Cellar, where he treasured them up till he had an Opportunity of selling them.

MR. *Perez*, when he saw these Things, and considered them, looked upon this as a singular good Omen, and indeed there were two Medals of *Lyfimachus* in Silver, and one in Brass of *Gleopatra*, which were valuable ; neither was there any thing false, or which could be said to be of little Value. There were likewise three Tablets of Cornelian, harder, and of a much deeper Colour than i usual, which seem'd to have been prepared
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for engraving; but, by some Accident, were left plain, and were the finest I ever saw. We sent these, and a great many other Things, to Mr. *Fetherstone*, from whom we receiv'd Advice, that by proper Assortments, and sending them to different Places, our Collections would in all Likelihood produce very considerable Advantages.

By this time our *Neapolitan* began to discern somewhat of our Business, and therefore pressed Mr. *Perez* to go to *Cairo*. It was indeed high time for him to be gone, since he had already staid longer than seemed consistent with the Account he gave of himself, and of his Business; but as for us, there seemed to be no great Cause for our removing, nor had I any Idea of it 'till Mr. *Perez* mentioned it, and assured me that we should find our Account therein. But after all, the *Neapolitan* was forced to depart without us, having won a large Sum of Money of a *Jew*, who did not bear his Loss with that Patience which our Friend expected. The Cause of our longer Stay was my falling ill of an Ague, which proved very troublesome, for I relapsed twice. To facilitate my Recovery, Dr. *Salviati*, with the Consent of his Patrons gave me a Share in his Apartment at their House. Here having the Opportunity of a small Furnace, I made an Experiment of the Emerald my *Jew* had sold me, but it did not succeed so happily as I expected, though it improved the Stone very much. Two or three large *Topaz's*, which were very foul, and as it were muddy, I tried in the same Manner, and succeeded therein beyond my Expectation, for they became perfectly clear and well-colour'd. Some Experiments also I made on *Amethysts* and *Chrysolites*, but to no Purpose at all. When I was perfectly recovered, I consent-

ed, at the Request of my Friend *Perez*, though against my own Opinion, to go to *Rosetta*, and thence to *Cairo*.

THE Time we staid at *Alexandria*, including the best Season of the Year, I had before me all the Opportunities I could desire of informing myself concerning the ancient and present State of that most famous City; neither did I let them slip, but as far as in my Power lay improved what I heard, what I saw, what I read, and what from the Comparison of these I was able to conjecture to the best Advantage. Hence I often amused myself with framing Ideas of the different Situation Things have been in, in this Part of the World, and of the Power, Grandeur, and Riches, of the several Potentates who have either ruled in *Egypt*, or made it a Part of their Dominion. On mature Deliberation, I am persuaded myself, and I think I could prove it to any reasonable Person, that the ancient Kings of *Egypt*, before the Times of *Alexander*, were by far the most considerable Princes that ever swayed here. At first Sight it will seem odd to deduce this from the Consideration of *Alexandria*, a City built after the Extinction of their Government, yet have I certainly Reason on my Side, since if the ancient *Egyptian* Princes had not taken Care to confer on this Country those Benefits which Nature had denied it, it would have been so far from affording a Situation proper for the Metropolis of a great Kingdom, that there could not have been so much as a Village, no not a House here, or any where hereabouts.

THE Maps we commonly have of *Egypt* are so erroneous, that it is really a difficult Thing to have a just Comprehension of what Travellers say of that Country;
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and I have been sometimes not a little surpriz'd to see Charts inserted in Books directly contrary, as to the Situation of Places, to what was said in them. The City I am speaking of lies without the *Delta*, towards the *Lybian* Desarts. The Soil about it was naturally as sandy and barren, as unfit for Cultivation, and as absolutely void of Water as can be imagined. To remedy these Evils, and to turn this Wilderness into a habitable Country, the ancient Kings of *Egypt* devised Methods of supplying it with Water ; and as a very great Quantity was necessary, they caused a large and deep Lake to be sunk within a few Miles of the Sea, to be a proper Receptacle for the furnishing the Canals they had designed with Water, at such Times as they could not be drawn directly from the *Nile*. This Lake still remains a Monument of their Wisdom and Power, and is called *Mareotis*. It was fill'd by the Waters derived to it from two grand Canals, the one drawn from the Lake *Moeris* in the upper, and the other discharging the Waters collected in the lower *Egypt*. From the Lake *Mareotis* again there was a Canal to the Sea, and several other Cuts for the Convenience of Agriculture and Navigation. Thus the Country became inhabitable, by Degrees was filled with Villages, and lying conveniently for Trade, especially with the *Greeks*, served to circulate the Commodities of the higher *Egypt*, and perhaps of *Ethiopia*, and to return in their stead the Manufactures and Wealth of *Europe*.

It was in this State that *Alexander the Great* found it, and very wisely contrived to build a new City here to be the Seat of the *Grecian* Governors, and a kind of Check upon the rest of *Egypt*. Whoever is well

acquainted with his History, will perceive that he purchased no part of his great Dominions at so easy a Rate as he did *Egypt*. The true Reason of which was, that the *Egyptians* naturally inclined to rid themselves of the *Persian* Yoke, and to submit themselves rather to him than to any body else. Their old Masters had always treated them with great Severity, and were besides open Enemies to their Superstition. The *Greeks*, on the other hand, were their old Friends, and little less superstitious than themselves. However, as *Alexander* thought of keeping as well as getting, he saw clearly that the *Egyptians* were not to be depended upon, and that it would be an indiscreet risking of his *veteran* Troops to leave a small Number of them encamped in the open Country scatter'd up and down in Garrisons, or in any great inland City, where, in case of Rebellion, they might be presently block'd up, and easily famish'd before they could receive any Succours. There was nothing therefore either of Pride or of Vanity in *Alexander's* building this City, but it was purely a Work of Policy, which he executed with as much Spirit, as he projected it with Sagacity. I know very well that there are some Discordances in the Accounts given us of this Transaction by the Ancients ; but he who will exercise his Understanding and attend rather to the Reason of Things than to the Niceties of Expression, and those Ornaments which Historians usually endeavour'd after, such as Prodigies and miraculous Accidents, will find this Account probable enough.

THIS City, as laid out by *Dinocrates*, at the Command of *Alexander*, stretched from the Lake *Mareotis*

to the Sea, thereby affording all imaginable Conveniency for corresponding with the *Upper* and *Lower Egypt*, at the same time that effectual Provision was made for establishing a strong Garrison, and a numerous and flourishing Colony, open in respect to *Greece*, from whence at Times it could receive Succours sufficient not only to preserve itself, but to secure the Dominion of the *Greeks* over *Egypt*. As it owed its Foundation to one of the greatest Princes in the World, so from the very Beginning it was adorned with the noblest publick Buildings which the *Greek* Taste for Architecture then at its greatest Height, and supported by all the Riches of the East, could supply. This great Conqueror, so long as he lived, continued his Care to this Child of his Policy, according to it such Privileges and taking such Pains to furnish it with Inhabitants, that as it was built, so it was peopled in so short a Space, that the Account we have of it would be incredible, if we knew not that the whole was carried on by him, who with *thirty six thousand* Men attempted and atchieved the Conquest of the best Part of the Universe.

HIS Successor in this Part of his Dominions, *Ptolemy Lagus*, if he was not rather the Son of *Philip*, and the Brother of *Alexander*, made *Alexandria* his Capital, and the Care of fortifying, adorning, and augmenting it, the grand Business of a long and prosperous Reign. It was he who made its Port the Wonder of the World, and erected over a most magnificent Palace built on an artificial Island, that celebrated *Pharos* of which Authors speak with such Rapture and Amazement.

HIS Successors pursued the same Plan, that is to say, they improved and adorned *Alexandria* to the utmost of

their Power, transferring hither by degrees all the *Greek Arts*, and erecting that celebrated Library which was at length encreased to five, some say to seven hundred thousand Volumes, and which is affirmed to have perished by Fire when *Julius Cæsar* was in this City, tho' neither that Prince, nor the Consul *Hirtius*, who continued his Commentaries, say any thing of it. *Cleopatra*, the last *Greek Sovereign* of *Egypt*, exerted her utmost Force in order to excell all her Predecessors in magnificent Buildings, the Ruins of which (if they be truly the Ruins of her Palace which are commonly called so) remain to this Day.

AFTER *Egypt* became a Province of *Rome*, *Alexandria* of course declined from its former Grandeur, but remained still, as the *Roman* Authors frequently confess, the next City to *Rome*, containing not less than three hundred thousand free Citizens, and of all Sorts of Inhabitants, a Million at the least. Its Commerce, its pleasant and convenient Situation, its being the Metropolis of *Africa* after the Ruin of *Carthage*, drew to it such a Flux of Riches, and all other Utensils of Luxury, that, as *Quintilian* informs us, *Deliciæ Alexandriae*, the *Delights* of *Alexandria*, became a Proverb. Thence forward it shared the Fate of the *Roman* Empire, or rather of the *Constantinopolitan*, of which it remained a Province 'till it was over-run by the *Saracens* in the *Caliphat* of *Omar*, when with all the rest of *Egypt* it fell into their Hands, and suffered from thence all the Calamities a barbarous Enemy could inflict, an Enemy equally cruel to Buildings and to People. This is to be understood of the Condition of this People at the Time of their Eruption into *Egypt*; for by degrees, when they were settled there,
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and tasted the Blessings of civil Government, Peace and Riches, they became quite another People.

HOWEVER, their Successors, who came thus to understand the Value of the *Greek* Learning, could neither restore the Buildings their Predecessors had overturned, or those innumerable Works of Literature which they had destroyed. For as all the Princes to whom *Alexandria* had been subject endeavour'd to render it famous for being the Seat of the Muses as well as of Government, so the Libraries which they piqued themselves on erecting had all of them alike ill Fate. Of the first, Mention hath been made already, the second, begun by *Cleopatra*, and augmented by the *Roman* Princes and Governors, was I know not how destroyed by the Zeal of Christian Priests, from a Notion that heathen Learning must nourish heathen Superstition. What was saved from this general Wreck of Literature, fell into the Hands of the *Saracens*, who here, as well as at *Cairo*, heated their Ovens and their Bagnio's with Heaps of invaluable Manuscripts. In the Wars, which almost continually vexed *Egypt*, after it fell under the Dominion of these new Masters, *Alexandria* suffered not a little; and at length one of the Successors of *Saladin*, as the *Europeans* call him, enclosed a Part of the City with Walls, which are yet standing, well fortified with Towers, after having demolish'd every Thing without them, as well to prevent any Rebels from fortifying themselves amongst them, as to furnish himself with Materials for the Works carried on by his Command.

I KNOW very well that many Travellers have reported, that the Walls now standing are those built by *Alexander*; but they are really what I say, as appears not only

only from the *Arabian* Historians, but from the Walls themselves, which are plainly composed in great Measure of the Fragments of an ancient Building, and have in many Places *Arabick* Inscriptions, all of a Date inferior to that assigned for their Erection. Under the *Mamelukes* it is said, that the ancient *Alexandria*, or rather the magnificent Ruins of it, suffered new Outrages. These People, greedy of Money, and having strong Suspicions that the *Obelisks* they saw covered with *Hieroglyphics* were erected for no other Purpose than by their *Talismannick* Virtue, to preserve the Treasures buried under them, broke and threw them down wherever they could, and defaced all the Statues they met with, if they had the least Suspicion that they were hollow.

THE *Turks* since they became Masters, have acted upon the same wise Plan, and it is hard to say whether they have been more industrious in destroying the noble Monuments of Antiquity, or careless in erecting publick Works themselves. The true Source of which left-handed Policy is this, that they look upon *Egypt* not as an Estate, but as a Farm, of which they may one Day lose the Possession; and therefore while they have it, they are for making as much of it as they can. For we are much in the wrong to suppose that the *Turks* are a dull, senseless People, whereas in Truth, they are quite otherwise; the Things from which we make such Inferences, have Causes that we don't suspect; and therefore in this Light they are not Fools, but we. It is true, that if we establish for our Rule this Maxim, *that such Things only as are vertuously done, are wisely done*, we shall condemn the *Turks*, yet may they not also

also pray Judgment against us on the same Statute. But if the pursuit of Riches be an allowable End in them, as from our Practice it should seem we ought to admit, then I am afraid it will be found, they are at least as wise as ourselves. For not to ramble too far from my Subject here, in the Port of *Alexandria* the Grand Seignior acts with as much Policy as any *European* Prince, for he imposes Duties upon all foreign Commodities ; so that if his Subjects will deal in Superfluities, they must pay him, but he gives all manner of Encouragement for the vending the rich Commodities of their own Country, whereby the Balance of Trade is brought on their Side, and consequently the Well furnished with continual Supplies of Water, to be first suck'd up by inferior Sponges, and at last squeez'd at once into the *bottomless Cistern* of the *Imperial Treasure*, acquired by draining and employed in oppressing the People. Madness which would be incredible if it was not so common.

BUT to return to the City, its ancient Magnificence appeared but in part from the noble Structures erected on the Surface, since it was wholly built on Vaults of stupendous Contrivance, and wonderful Beauty. As the Business of Navigation and Agriculture could not have been carried on without the many Canals above described, so their Domestic Occasions required Supplies of Water nearer at Hand, and in Quantities proportioned to the Number of Inhabitants. Subterraneous Aqueducts furnished these, nay, and furnish them still, for there is not a Drop of Water in the Modern *Alexandria*, but what is drawn from the ancient Cisterns fill'd once a Year, by the rising of the *Nile*, towards which Time the Water remaining in these Repositories corrupt-

corrupting, renders the Air unwholesome, and the City very sickly.

THE old *Alexandria* was a Square of about a League, but its Suburbs stretch'd very much towards the Tower of the *Arabs* on the one Side, and towards *Rosetta* on the other, furrounded on all Sides by pleasant Gardens, full of the most delicious Fruits. The Modern *Alexandria* is in a manner without Walls, stretched along the Sea Side, and after gradually declining for a long Time, had well nigh sunk into a Village 40 Years ago; but it is since much recovered, and continues daily to increase, Experience having taught the *Turks*, that nothing can be more advantagious than this, for the augmenting their Revenue.

THE most remarkable Things in this new City are, the Remains of those ancient Structures which are yet in a Condition of being considered. Among these, that which deserves first to be taken Notice of is, what the Christian Inhabitants stile the *Palace of the Father of St. Katherine*, which is situated almost in the middle of the Space comprehended in the present Walls; a most pompous Colonnade of Pillars, no less admirable for their Workmanship, than for their extraordinary Height and Bigness, amuses the Eye of the Spectator; it extends at present 500 Feet, but Numbers of the Pillars are entirely demolished; some there are which retain half their ancient Height, and one only is left entire. Over-against these are found the Remains of another Range of Pillars, which heretofore fronted those before spoken of, whence it is probably enough conjectured, that they included a Space of Ground 500 Foot in Front, and 200 in Depth, in the midst of which it is thought there
was

was a noble Fountain, as, from many concurring Circumstances, inquisitive Men think they have Grounds to affirm, that these were the *publick Baths* built by the *Romans*. Over-against this glorious Relique of ancient Architecture, stands one of the finest Churches in *Egypt*, formerly dedicated to St. *Athanasius*, now a *Turkish Mosque*; of the Inside of this we know nothing more than can be perceived through certain Openings over the Gates. Hence we are enabled to say, that the Roof of it is supported by four Rows of Porphyry Pillars, as fair and beautiful as can be imagined. As to the Churches, or rather Chapels, in the Hands of the *Christians*, they are very far from being considerable, and as to the Port, all that it hath either of Safety or Beauty, it derives from its ancient Masters. At present there is a modern *Turkish* Fortification on the Island, where stood the ancient *Pharos*, the *Franks* call it *Farrillon*; it is neither very strong, nor very beautiful, but serves well enough for the Purpose to which it is used. Here are two Ports, each covered by a Mole. That which is called the old Port is capacious as well as very commodious and safe, into which only the *Turkish* Gallies and other Vessels are suffered to come; as for the new Port, it is far from having any of these Advantages, tho' they might be procured to it if the *Turks* would be at any Expence, which is scarce to be expected.

To what has been said, I shall add only an Account of two Remnants of Antiquity more, the one within, the other without the Walls of *Alexandria*. The first the Obelisk, or as the *Franks* call it the *Aiguilla*, and our Sailors the *Needle of Cleopatra*. There is one standing,

standing, and another lying on the Ground. That which is upright is without a Pedestal, and in all probability there is a great Part of it in the Earth. It is four square, pointed at Top, each Face is covered with *Hieroglyphicks*, and the Stone of which it is made wonderfully beautiful, what is above Ground may be 56 Feet high. The other, which is almost buried in the Sand, lies about 12 Yards farther, and is evidently of the same kind. I have seen in other Parts of *Egypt* several of these Needles, and I think there is a Correspondence between the *Hieroglyphic* Figures on the Faces of them all; from whence I have been led to conjecture, that they were set up by the ancient Kings of *Egypt*, to make certain Things known to their Subjects for the common Good; for I cannot apprehend, that the *Egyptians* would expose any of the Mysteries of their Religion in the Highways; perhaps I may be mistaken, and perhaps a learned Man who should attempt to confute me, might be mistaken too; let us leave then these obscure Points to Time, and the Antiquarians, who pretend to be of his Council.

THE other Antiquity is the famous Pillar of *Pompey*, which lies about half a Mile without the City, towards the Lake of *Mareotis*; this is at once the finest, and the fairest Pillar, not in *Egypt* only, but in the Universe. I cannot take upon me so much as to conjecture whether there be or be not Foundation for the Title given it. Whenever it was erected, it certainly was the Work of a very great Architect, since it is alike pleasing to the Eye of every Beholder, and no Critic that I know of hath presumed to censure its Proportions, tho' it is not reducible to any of the Orders in Use amongst us.

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As to its Height two *French* Engineers measured it, as each of them affirm'd, very exactly while I was here. The one asserted it to be 94 Feet high, and the other 106. Both these People could not be right, by my Admeasurement it should be 110 of our Feet. A Mountebank who ascended this Pillar with marvelous Facility, found it hollow at the Top; it may be there was some Image fixed thereon when it was originally set up. The *Turks*, according to their old Custom, have been battering its Foundation, in order to look for Treasure, but without Success. One may guess from this Monument, how far the Skill and Address of the Antients in these sort of Things transcends those of the Moderns; for I never heard any Body pretend, that a Work of this kind could be executed by any Artist in *Europe*. As this Pillar is perfectly plain, it is reasonable to believe, that it was set up to perpetuate the Memory of some extraordinary Event, which makes the Learned so dubious as to the Propriety of the Name given it, since in this Sense it seems to correspond with it well enough, in other Respects the Pillar might be thought to suit better with the *Grecian* Times.

As to the Inhabitants of *Alexandria*, I forbear speaking of them, till I come to speak of the People of *Egypt* in general. I shall only add, that our Sailors commonly call this City *Scanderoon*, in Imitation of the *Arab* Name *Scanderani*, which is a Translation of the *Greek* Name, a Liberty the more allowable in them, since the *Greeks* themselves used it very freely, in altering the Names of all the Places which fell under their Cognizance, either in their Wars, or in their Travels.

WE left this famous Place, in order to travel by Land to *Rosetta*, having sent our Effects thither in a Bark by Sea; we had in our Company 21 Persons, and amongst them Dr. *Salviati*, who went to *Rosetta* on some Concerns of his Patrons. We past by a considerable Lake, out of which there is a Canal cut to the Sea. All the low Country lies much exposed to that Element, and we were informed, that it sometimes rushed in with incredible Fury. The *Doctor*, Mr. *Perez*, and some other intelligent Persons in our Company, gave it as their Opinion, that some Time or other this would be fatal, not only to the Country between these Cities, but to *Alexandria* itself. At that Time I said nothing, but having thoroughly considered the Thing, I came to entertain quite a different Notion, of which I still am, *viz.* That the Sea will lose Ground here instead of gaining it. To this I was first led by reflecting on what the Antients have delivered, as to the growing of the *Delta*, by the continual Accession of Mud brought thither by the *Nile*. I was confirmed in it, by comparing the Distances of Places, mentioned in antient Authors, from the Sea, which I found to be much encreased; and as to the Certainty of this, again I thought that there was no room left for me to doubt, since several old Captains of Ships assured me, that when they first knew the City of *Rosetta*, that Part of it which was now half a Mile from the Sea, was within a quarter of it at most. Besides, it is not above 60 Years since *Rosetta* became a Port, on account of the Difficulty there was found in navigating Barks of considerable Burthen up the River to *Fouhe*, where the *Grand Seignior's* Officers of Revenue were formerly settled. But of this Subject enough.

FROM

FROM *Alexandria* to *Rosetta* are 10 Leagues, which with some Difficulty we travelled in one Day, and took up our Lodgings in a publick Inn, from whence we removed to the House of a *Scotch* Merchant, where we were very much at our Ease, and Dr. *Salviati* with us, for the Time he staid, which was about three Weeks. Directly behind this House lay certain Gardens, more regular, and kept in better Order than any we had hitherto seen. This induced us to enquire of our Landlord to whom they belonged, he told us of one *Hassan* a *Moor*, who had retired thither from *Tetuan*, and who lived with such Lustre, that the *Arabs* said he had the Art of making Gold grow, a Conceit which the meaner sort of People take in a literal Sense, and which those of more Learning use to express the Art of Transmutation. It was not long before I obtained a better Account of this *Moor*, and of the manner by which he had acquired his Riches.

A *Spanish* Slave of his named *Matthew Vasquez* about 70 Years of Age, but of a robust Constitution, and who had been 38 Years in Slavery, came to the House of a *Jew*, with whom I had some Dealings, and was easily persuaded to visit me at our Lodgings. He told me that his Master was the Son of a *Spanish Renegade*, who fled voluntarily from one of the *Spanish* Garrisons, in order to abjure his Religion, which he did publicly at *Tetuan*, and in the Space of a few Years, came to be a very considerable Person. He took the Name of *Ibrahim*, and being a strong well made Man, and of an undaunted Courage, addicted himself to Piracy with astonishing Success. He married the Daughter of his Patron, who had given the

first Rise to his Fortune; her Name was *Zaide*, and she was at once as handsome and as virtuous as an Angel; by her he had this Son *Hassan*, but lost her about a Year afterwards by the Plague, which carried off also three of his Concubines. For some Months after *Ibrahim* was very disconsolate, 'till hearing that a Neighbour of his, a Moor of great Quality, had a most beautiful Daughter, he would needs see her, which, by the Help of an industrious old Woman, he effected, being for that purpose placed on the other Side of a Hedge which surrounded her Father's Garden.

FATIMA, that was the Lady's Name, appeared to the *Renegade* so charming a Person, that, by the Instigation of the old Woman, he instantly made his Addresses to her, offered her the richest Presents, and swore to marry no other Wife if she would consent to become his. *Fatima* was deaf to all his Intreaties, refused his Presents, and treated him for a long Time with the most haughty Disdain. At length she sent him word by the old Woman that she suspected he was still a Christian in his Heart, and that he kept up a Correspondence with his Family in *Spain*. *Ibrahim* answer'd, that he had indeed a Father, Mother, and two Sisters, living when he left *Europe*, but that he had never heard of them since; to which *Fatima* reply'd, that as a Proof of his Love she expected he should bring them over to *Tetuan*, and that they should serve them as Slaves.

IBRAHIM was so drunk with his Passion, that he immediately order'd his Vessel to be got ready, and under the Favour of the dark Nights run over to the *Spanish* Coast, and landed as near as possible to his Father's House, which stood about fifteen Miles from *Gibraltar*.

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He immediately debarqued twenty Men, and having posted them at the Foot of a Hill, about a Mile from his Father's House, he went thither alone. Upon his Admittance he told his Family, that he, with fix other Christian Slaves, had made their Escape from *Tetuan*, that they had brought with them in their Bark a great Quantity of Gold and other Commodities of Value; he therefore begg'd that they would go with him to bring off his Share, to which, after embracing him with the warmest Testimonies of Affection, they joyfully consented.

BUT as it required some Time for them to find Baskets and other Conveniencies for transporting these Goods, *Ibrahim* propos'd that his Father should go before, and offer'd to go with him in order to have the Things set on Shore, if his Companions did not incline to land at the same Place. The poor old Man, not in the least suspecting his Son, readily yielded to his Request, and went with him towards the Sea-side. When they came to the Foot of the Hill, *Ibrahim* deliver'd his Father to his Crew, with Orders, if he made any Resistance, to cut his Throat; his Men, however, had more Humanity than himself, for notwithstanding the old Man cry'd out, they did not kill him, but gagg'd him as soon as they could. Not so soon, however, but that he alarmed the Country; so that before they could reach their Vessel, they saw three or four hundred Men, Horse and Foot between them and the Shore. Upon this they abandon'd their Prisoner, and observing where their Enemies were thinnest, made a brisk Push, and got to their Vessel.

THE old Man finding himself at Liberty, quickly got the Gag out of his Mouth, and then told his Deli-

verers after what Manner he had been betray'd by his perfidious Son. Upon this Intelligence they posted themselves at the bottom of the Hill, till *Ibrahim* came with his Mother and Sisters, who supposing them to be his own Men, order'd them to carry those Women to the old Man. *No thou Mifcreant !* cry'd his Father, *They shall carry thee back to be burnt for a Traitor to thy Country, and thy Faith !* He was after a Time conducted to the Prison of the Inquisition at *Seville*, and there being at that Time a Project of making a Descent on *Africk*, he was offered his Life if he would abjure the Religion of *Mohamed*. To which he reply'd, *I scorn it, I will die a Moor for the Sake of the most lovely Lady in Africk*. To this Resolution he adhered, and was accordingly burnt a Year afterwards, without any Signs of Remorse, or of any Sense he had of his Condition.

My Master *Hassan* was not above two Years old when his Father was taken Prisoner in *Spain*. He was taken Care of by his Uncle on the Mother's Side, who was alike attentive to his Education, and to the Increase of his Fortune. When he attained the Age of twenty, he was settled in a House, married the Daughter of his Uncle, whose Name was *Dilferiba*, i. e. *the Ravisher of Hearts*, and they had eight thousand Sequins given them to begin the World with. *Hassan* fell to the same Trade which his Father had exercised ; and being full of Moorish Resentment, made frequent Descents on the *Spanish* Coasts, and brought away great Numbers of People, and much Booty. At length, his Uncle being suspected of an Intercourse with Prince *Gailand*, was put to Death, whereupon *Hassan* imbarquing his Wife, four Female Slaves, my self and another, together with his own and his Uncle's Treasure, which had been confided

to him, on board his Vessel, sailed hither under *Spanish* Colours, where he lives rather like a Prince than a private Man, being the Protector of the *Arabs* and *Moors*, and keeping a strict Correspondence with his Relations in *Barbary*, receives from them whatever is most saleable in *Egypt*, and sends them in Return the richest Commodities from hence. In order to this he travels four Times a Year to *Cairo*, and resides there a Fortnight each Time.

FROM this Man, in the several Conversations I had with him, I learned abundance of curious Particulars with Respect as well to *Barbary* as *Egypt*, he having spent a great Part of his Life in that Country; but what I valued most was his Account of the Caravans which pass annually to and from *Cairo* to *Tripoli*, *Tunis*, *Algiers*, *Fez*, and *Morocco*; a stupendous March, not only thro' an uncultivated Country, but through burning Sands, absolutely void of Shade or Water, and yet far from being free from noxious Animals, which add to the other Plagues, more than sufficient to exercise the Patience even of an *Arab*. My Discourses with *Vasquez* take up an hundred Pages in my Diary, but I say no more of them here that I may pursue the Thread of my Narration.

AFTER the Departure of Dr. *Salviati* for *Alexandria*, I spent most of my Time with Mr. *Perez*, and this *Vasquez*, who came every Day to our House, and brought us several Persons who sold us Curiosities at a reasonable Rate; so that we quickly sent another Cargo to Mr. *Fetherstone*. One Day *Vasquez*, who was informed that I studied *Phyfic*, came earlier than usual, and desiring to speak with me, told me I must go with him

that Moment to his Master. This I did not hesitate to do, though I had scarce dined, and the Weather was excessively hot. He conducted me to a back Door, which opened into his Master's Gardens, and striking cross them, brought me to a Summer-house, where his Master waited for me.

HE was a Man extremely well made, about thirty Years of Age, and had all the Politeness of an *European*. He spoke *Italian* and *Spanish* well, and *French* indifferently. He received me with great Civility, and after we had drank Coffee, enter'd upon the Business for which he had sent for me. He told me that his Wife was in a very bad State of Health, and that though he had had the best and most skillful in the Art of Physick, both Men and Women, (for Men and Women practice alike in *Egypt*, and the latter are thought to understand the Diseases attending their own Sex best) his Wife grew daily worse, which induced him, on the Report of his Slave *Vasquez*, to desire my Assistance.

UPON inquiring of him as to the Symptoms of his Wife's Disease, I found that it was a complicated Case, arising from a Dropsy ill treated. He conducted me himself into an Apartment where the Lady was, whom I found about twenty-three Years old, a Native of *Sienna* in *Italy*, of an Olive Complexion, yet wonderfully beautiful, though not a little dejected. After encouraging her a little, and receiving an Assurance both from herself and her Husband, that she should observe an exact Method as to Eating and Drinking, I undertook, and happily effected a Cure in a very short Space. This procured me the Confidence and Favour of *Hassan*, the most generous *Moor* I had ever Occasion to converse with.

His

His Mother's Brother, by whom he was brought up, had much Correspondence with the Christians, and taught his Nephew early to despise that Rudeness and Contempt which the *Moors* naturally have for all People of another Religion. He likewise engaged him to learn *Italian* and *Spanish* from his Slaves, as also to play on the Lute; withal he instructed him in the Policy of their Country, and exhorted him, in case any Accident befel himself, to quit it as early as he could, and to retire into *Egypt*, where he held a Correspondence with some of the *Arab* Princes.

HASSAN made the best Use of so happy an Education; and having himself a great Genius as well as a deep Fund of Generosity and good Nature, he brought all the Instructions that he received from his Uncle to operate for his Advantage. Though he was but a young Man, he had establish'd an Intercourse unthought of before. For going to *Cairo* as often as the Caravans arrived from *Barbary*, *Nubia*, *Mecca*, or *Syria*, he drew the chief Merchants the Beys or Princes of *Egypt*, and the petty Lords of the *Arabs*, to have a Confidence in him, and to make use of him as a common Friend in all their Negotiations, whereby he secured to himself a powerful Interest as well as great Riches. He took Care also to live upon mighty good Terms with the *Turkish* Governors, made annual Presents to the Bashaw at *Cairo*, and to his Officers, and secured the Friendship of every *Aga* he had Occasion to transact with, by the never-failing Method of gratifying him with Money.

He did not, however, converse much with any of the Inhabitants of *Rosetta*, being afraid lest some of the Vice-Consuls of the Christian Powers should penetrate

the Methods by which he furnished the *Tuniseens*, and other Piratical States with Ammunition, in which he had often Address enough to make themselves bear a Part. Having one Day talked to me pretty freely on the Subject of my Voyage to *Egypt*, he observed that it appeared to him, as well as to the *Turks*, a very whimsical Thing, that Men should with such Pain and Hazard to themselves, make such long Journies purely to look at the Ruins of ancient Structures, and to carry home a few Medals, and such like Curiosities. I took a great deal of Pains to remove this Notion out of his Head, tho' it was visibly against my Interest, but to no manner of Purpose; he remain'd firm in his first Sentiments, which he supported by such Arguments as these. That Life was short and uncertain, and that therefore Men ought not to waste it as Children spend their Hours of Play in picking up Bits of Metal, and broken Pieces of painted Earth, meerly to look upon them. That the Necessaries of Life were first to be sought, then its Conveniences; and these being obtained, it was more reasonable to sit down and enjoy them than to run up and down the World hunting for Baubles. That there were many useful Arts and Sciences highly profitable to the human Species still unperfected, which therefore he thought deserved our Attention much more than these Matters of Curiosity, which he said must have very little in them because he could not understand them; whereas he readily comprehended the Use and Service of other Things.

BUT when he was informed that I sent all my Collections to a Correspondent in *Italy*, who disposed of them in several Parts of *Europe*, he understood this to be highly reasonable. For, said he, whatever Men will
buy

buy is worth the buying for them. He gave me a great many Curiosities, and procured me others at very small Prices, taking no more of me than the Trifles with which he presented Those who brought them to him, and who were glad, by this or any other Method, to recommend themselves to his Protection.

It happened, that as I visited him one Day, and he was shewing me several Things that he received from the upper *Egypt*, I took Notice of three Emeralds, small indeed, but of a Hardness and Beauty inexpressible, and far superior to any thing I had ever seen. I make no question but they were placed on purpose for me to look upon them, for as soon as I took them in my Hand, and began to consider them, *Hassan* fixed his Eyes full upon me, and did not withdraw them 'till I laid down the Stones. You *Franks*, said he, upbraid the *Turks* with Avarice, and yet you can see nothing valuable yourselves but presently it takes up all your Thoughts. Tell me, what would you think of a Country where these were to be had in Plenty? I should think my self, said I, very happy in the Discovery of it, provided too many of them were not brought from thence. Well, replied *Hassan*, I will think of it, and some time or other, perhaps, I may talk to you further on this Subject. That some time or other, said I, must not be far distant, since within a very few Days I intend to set out for *Cairo*. Well, said he, I shall see you there, and it will better serve our Purposes to discourse of that Matter there than here. I would gladly have renewed the Conversation, but was afraid it might make him uneasy, and therefore I readily turned our Discourse to another Subject.

HE had often asked me about the Astrologers in *Europe*, and on my telling him that they were a Race of Cheats, and were only able to impose upon the Vulgar, he seemed amazed, and immediately enquired how it came to pass, that such as were so well acquainted with the Motions of the heavenly Bodies, as the *European* Doctors were, should yet know so little of this Art. I then told him plainly my Sentiments, that there was really nothing solid in this Art, and that notwithstanding the Prepossession of the *Turks* and *Persians* in its Favour, it was, and had been always rather a Species of Villainy than a Service. I never saw *Hassan* disturbed or angry upon any Occasion but this, I had no sooner done speaking, than looking upon me with an Air of Disdain and Contempt, *Christian* said he, I thought thou hadst been wiser, but I find there are Men every where, who believe just what they receive from their Priests; I know Astrology is against thy Law, and therefore thou contemnest it. In order to appease him, I assured him that was not the Case, for that in *Europe*, the far greater Part of the People were strongly prejudiced in Favour of Astrology, Why then said he, art thou an Infidel? Dost thou presume to set thy own Wisdom above that part of the World and this? With much ado I brought him to hear my Arguments against the Solidity of this Art; but they made no manner of Impression on him, he would needs have it, that the disbelief of Astrology was a kind of Atheism, and in Effect denying the Providence of God. This Discourse had like to have been fatal to me, for it seems, Astrology was his favourite Study, and whenever he had any leisure Moments, this and Chemistry were his only Care;

Care; but as yet he concealed his Affection to and Skill in these Arts from me, as from a Person full of Infidelity.

IN Order to regain his good Opinion, I bethought myself of enquiring whether he had never heard of *Geomancy*, and upon explaining what I meant, he was mightily surprized, not conceiving that this sort of Divination had ever been practised in *Europe*. But when I assured him it had, and that several Books had been written upon it, which however were scarce, and very secretly preserved for fear of the *Inquisition*, he seemed mightily pleased, telling me he would give a 100 *Sequins* for a good Manuscript on this Subject in *Italian*; I promised him to write to my Correspondent, tho' I had previously settled the Matter in my own Head, having accidentally among my Books, the Treatise written by Dr. *Flood* on that delusive Art, printed at *Venice*, which I resolved to translate into *Italian* for his Use, tho' not without some Reluctance. I could not finish it before the Time came in which we were to set out for *Cairo*. When therefore I took my Leave of him, I told him that I had sent Instructions to *Alexandria* to dispatch the Book I had writ for after me, when it should arrive, to *Cairo*. He thanked me, seemed mightily pleased, gave me Instructions how to find his House, and a Letter for an *Aga* of the *Janisseries*.

IN the beginning of the Month of *August*, we embarked at *Rosetta*, having hired a Boat to carry us and our Things, and a *Janisary* to attend us. As we treated this Man with more than ordinary Generosity, he was on his Side very kind to us, and readily went ashore with

with us, when and where we pleased. All the Banks of the *Nile* up which we navigated, were covered with Villages so thick, that it looks almost like a continued Town, and as I have been informed, the Heart of the *Delta* is as thoroughly inhabited, there being a multitude of Canals, which serve not only to pass from one Place to another, but which also unite the two great Branches of the *Nile*, particularly one which is greater than the rest, called the Canal of *Rosetta*, whereby one crosses the *Delta* into the other Branch of the *Nile*, and then fall easily down it to *Damietta*.

AT *Fezzara*, where we made some Inquiry after Curiosities, the People brought us some broken Stones, and counterfeit Idols, which we refused to buy; our *Janissary* thereupon told us, that he would carry us to a Place where lately a great many of these Things had been discovered, and to which as yet no *European* had come. We readily accepted his Offer, and by his Direction the Master of the Vessel turned out of the *Nile* into a large Canal on the left, passing between two great Villages; when we had sailed up this Canal about 20 Miles, the *Janissary* went ashore with us, and after walking 3 or 4 Miles, he brought us to a Place called *Balken*, which as he told us stood in the Centre of the *Delta*, at equal Distance from *Rosetta*, *Damietta*, and *Cairo*. Here we first reposed ourselves at the House of another *Janissary*, and afterwards went with our Conductor, and 3 or 4 other People, to a Place without the Town, where ascending a little Eminence, we saw a sort of Well, into which we were all let down; it was paved with *Roman* Brick, and appeared to have been antiently a very elegant Structure; but these new Discoverers had
broke

broke to Pieces the Wall and Pavement, and besides it was so damp, that it was with great Difficulty we could keep the Lights which we carried down with us from going out. Mr. *Perez* therefore concluding we should make no great Discoveries, declined staying any longer. In our Return to *Balken*, we bought of those who went with us, near 100 Medals of different Sizes, and different Metals, that is of Silver and Brass, of most of the *Roman* Emperors, from *Augustus* to *Valerian*; and of several Empresses, as also some fine Pieces of *Cornelian*, and an *Amethyst*, on which was engraven the Head of the Empress *Agrippina*. The whole did not cost us 20 *Piasters*. The next Day we returned into the *Nile*, and continued our Voyage to *Cairo*, without meeting with any Thing remarkable.

IN ten Days after our Arrival in this City, where we received all imaginable Civilities from the *Aga*, to whom I was directed, my Patron *Hassan* himself arrived, and sent *Vasquez* immediately to find me out, and to conduct me to him. The first Thing he asked for was his Book; I told him I expected it every Day, he then fell to other Things, and at last asked me if I knew nothing of the great Art, by which I found he meant Transmutation. I told him ingenuously that I did not, but that I had a Memoir upon that Subject, which was held very curious by those who were well versed in Chemistry. He desired to see it, and I accordingly carried it to him the next Time I went to see him. It was the Paper I received from my good Friend Mr. *Pucci*, and as *Hassan* understood *Italian* very well, he read it with great Facility, and seemed to be charmed with it. When he had considered it a while, do you believe

believe my Friend, said he, it is possible to make this Powder? I told him, I could not tell, but that I had heard some very intelligent Persons affirm that it was. You begin said he, to be somewhat less of an Infidel than you were, but I will tell you what will perhaps make you give still more Credit to this Opinion.

My Uncle was acquainted with a *Frank* who had some of this Powder, tho' as he said, he knew not how to make it. The Method in which he used it was this, he took an equal Quantity of Gold Dust, and of fine Silver, he melted first the one, and having put into it a little of his Powder, he caused the other to be melted, and pour'd in also; when it was taken out, the whole Mass was Gold finer than any of your Coin. The Quantity he had of this Powder was but small, and when he died, which was at *Tunis*, he desired a Person in whom he confided, to carry it to my Uncle, which accordingly he did, and he actually performed the same Experiment therewith, as the *Frank* had formerly done. I did not shew any Signs of disbelief, tho' I was exceedingly surprized to find such Notions spread into these Countries; tho' I have been since well informed, that there are abundance of Alchymists in *Persia*, and *Grand Tartary*, and above all in *China*, where it is common for Men to spend great real Estates in the Pursuit of these imaginary Treasures.

By the Way I must take Notice, that it is not impossible that the Story told by *Hassan* might be true, and yet that Powder is far from being the Philosopher's *Arcanum*; because it is certain, that a Powder capable of such a Transmutation, hath been, and may be made. As to the Method of projecting, by putting equal quantities

ties of Gold and fine Silver, it was in all likelihood no more than an Artifice, to give the greater Weight and Solemnity to the Experiment; the Essence of which consisted in this. Some *Chemists* in *Germany* have found out a Method of concreting Gold, that is, of throwing off its grosser Parts, and retaining only the Essence of the Metal. We will suppose, that out of 2 Ounces of Gold, 10 Grains of this *Semen* could be extracted; this then being put into a Crucible, wherein 2 Ounces of fine Silver melted were before, would produce 2 Ounces of Gold, which with some sort of Propriety might be stiled a *Transmutation*. But then this is an introductory Experiment only; for it is plain, that the Transmutation is so far from being beneficial, that there is a considerable Loss thereupon, first in working upon the Gold, and secondly, of the whole Price of the Silver wrought upon. Yet am I persuaded, that it is a Powder of this Nature which hath given the greatest Reputation to *Alchymy*, a Study which so intoxicates the Head of those who profess it, that they take those for their Enemies who endeavour to undeceive them; this together with an Enthusiastick Opinion, that this kind of Knowledge is bestowed by God, and that *Faith quoad hoc*, is the most certain Means of obtaining it, keeps them everlastingly chain'd to the Furnace, till they have nothing left where with to make it smok.

HASSAN's great Foible was his Love of the *occult Sciences*, of which I had the strongest Proof, when I presented him the *Treatise* on *Geomancy*, which I had translated into *Italian*, and illustrated with Notes, taken from the Works of *Cornelius Agrippa*, and Mr. *John Heydon*. He received it as a new *Revelation*, he studied it

it intensely, and in a short Time practised it exactly, preferring it greatly to the Method he had before used, and assuring me, that he would translate it into *Arabick*, which was far from giving me any Satisfaction, since I could not help thinking, that I had already committed a very great Fault, in thus condescending for the Sake of temporal Views, to further and support a superstitious Practice, which I knew to be such, and in myself condemned and despised. However I was constrained to conceal my Thoughts before *Hassan*, who like all Bigots, held it Impiety to question or suspect the Certainty of his darling *Sciences*; and I confess I did it the rather, because I saw myself now perfectly in his good Graces, and began to hope, that I should reap considerable Effects there from.

As the Weather permitted, and Occasion offered, I went with Mr. *Perez* to visit all the Curiosities, not only in the Neighbourhood of *Cairo*, but at a considerable Distance, and we were so lucky as to fall on a Method of buying Rarities, which stood us in great stead; it was this, we constantly refused to buy any Thing of a Person who had attempted to impose upon us, and we paid more generously than the *Franks* usually do, for such Things as were brought us in a fair Way, and of these we had as many, or rather more Offers than we well knew how to comply with. For all these Things Mr. *Perez* and I traded out of the joint Stock; but as to other Things, especially precious Stones, we made such Purchases as we thought fit at our proper Expence, and at our proper Risque. Mr. *Perez* was extremely well fitted for the Business he had undertaken; he had as great a Propensity to the occult Sciences

ences as any *Arabian* or *Turk* of them all, and understood them much better. This was sufficient to recommend him, so that except going now and then to the *French* Consuls, and a *Venetian* Merchant's, he was continually taken up with these *Virtuosi*. Amongst these there was one *Solomon Effendi*, who passed for the most skilful *Astrologer* in *Cairo*; he even pretended to have a Power of compelling the Spirits of Persons departed to appear before him, and answer in any Language the Questions he proposed to them; he likewise boasted of mighty Secrets in Chemistry, which for a while took up Mr. *Perez's* Attention; but at length he was convinced that he was a meer Pretender, and at the Bottom knew little or nothing except how to amuse the People, and by a cunning Train of Questions to draw from themselves those Answers they expected from him. He likewise had some Acquaintance with a *Polish* Renegade, whose Name was *Mustapha*, who was become an *Aga* of the *Janissaries*, and very rich, and this by an Accident singular enough to deserve mention.

HIMSELF and his Sister were carried away by the *Tartars*, when they were about seven Years of Age, and were sold at *Constantinople*; the Girl growing up prov'd an exquisite Beauty, and falling by Purchase into the Hands of the Captain *Bashaw*, he became so much in Love with her, that he preferr'd her to all the Women he had. It so happened, that on the Return of the *Bashaw* from making a Tour in the *Archeipelago*, a black Eunuch who was with him, acquainted the *Polish* Lady that he had seen among the Slaves who rowed the *Galley*, one perfectly like her, and much of the same Age. This put her upon recollecting, and a Day or two

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afterwards she told the Eunuch that she remembered when she was taken out of her own Country, her Brother was taken with her, and that because he lay down, and would not follow the *Tartar*, he nipped a Piece out of his Ear. The black Eunuch taking Occasion to find out the Slave he had mentioned, examin'd him, and found in his left Ear the Mark. The Captain Bashaw thereupon immediately set him at Liberty, and having perswaded him to turn *Turk*, and recommended him to his Brother, who was then a *Sanjack* in *Egypt*; he by Degrees, and frequent Demonstrations of an extraordinary Valour, was raised to this Post, in which however he was not beloved, by reason of his exactness in Point of Discipline; he was a Man of good Sense, tho' of no Learning, mightily addicted to Astrology, and furiously zealous for the Religion which he had embraced, whether thro' Ignorance or Policy, I am not able to determine.

SOME Times we went attended by a *Janissary* to visit the *Monks*, if I may be allowed to call them so, who live in the Skirts of *Cairo*, and are indeed the most learned of any *Mohammedans*. These by the *Arabians* are called *Dervises*, concerning whom our Travellers fall frequently into Mistakes, by confounding them with the *Santons*, from whom in reality they differ only as much as a wise Man does from a Fool. In the Road which leads to *Suez*, there is a Monastery, wherein live between 30 and 40 of these *Monks*, who spend all their Time in Prayer, in Study, or in manual Labour, when they go abroad they walk two and two, but then they generally seek out solitary Places, and they seldom enter the Cities or any of the Villages about them.

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They are remarkably kind to, and fond of the Conversation of *Franks*, especially such as have Learning, and are not Priests. With these they converse freely on all Subjects, particularly Religion, of which they think as freely as any People in the World. All their Discourses are either of Divinity or Philosophy; sometimes they dispute concerning the Immortality of the Soul, at others of the apparent Justice of Providence, most of them have much higher Ideas of JESUS CHRIST, than are common amongst the *Turks*; and in general these Men greatly detest that Impurity of Manners which prevails so much among those of their Religion. In their own Conduct they are most exemplary, meek, pious, charitable, and continually ready to do any good Office that is desired of them.

As to the *Santons* again, they are a sort of Hermits living singly in Caves or Woods, and coming frequently enough like Beasts out of their Dens to run through Villages and Cities. They are most of them really, or in Shew at least, dementated, which amongst the *Turks* is a strong Sign of Sanctity. They enter what Houses they please, seat themselves without Ceremony, say what they will, eat and drink whatever they can lay Hands on; and all this is taken in good Part. They carry their Brutality so far as to lay hold of Women, and deflower them in the open Streets, but above all, they distinguish themselves by a furious Hatred to Christians, whom they will sometimes wound or kill in publick Places, and this with Impunity; so that it is always a prudential Maxim to keep out of these Fellows Way.

ONE need not wonder so much at this Superstition among the *Turks*, if one recollects that the same Hu-

mour prevailed among the ancient *Greeks*, who fancied that there was something of Divinity in the Answers given by Idiots. To say the Truth, almost all the Notions of Divination amongst the Ancients or Moderns are as whimsical as this, and as much irreconcilable to good Sense; however, in this Case, let us try to reconcile it. A Man quits that Guide God has given him, his Reason, and what then? Why he listens to those who have not the Use of Reason. Methinks the Change is natural enough; perhaps it would appear more so if we could compare enough of these Predictions with their Events. In *Europe* a Man who loses his Senses is sent to a Prison, in *Asia* and *Africk*, he passes for a Saint; these are certainly Extremes. In *Europe* we degrade human Nature by our treating Madmen like Beasts; in *Asia* and *Africk* Men degrade themselves into Beasts by suffering themselves to be mal-treated by those who are no longer on a Par with them. None of these Evils could possibly happen if we listened to the Dictates of Nature, which never incline us either to injure others, or to submit tamely to Injuries which it is in our own Power to prevent.

A B O U T the Middle of the Month of *March* we received from *Alexandria*, by Means of a Vessel arrived there from *Leghorn*, a Packet from Mr. *Fetherstone*, it contained a Letter from him to Mr. *Perez*, another directed to us both, and a third addressed to me. The first, I suppose, related to the private Affairs of my Companion, the second brought an Account of the Produce of what we had consigned to him, with two Memoirs enclosed, one concerning the Value of Mummies, the other relating to the Choice of Medals. Mr. *Fetherstone* observed,

observed, that the Humour of forming Cabinets, and making great Collections of Curiosities of all Sorts encreased daily not only in *Italy*, but in *France*, and in the *North*; so that provided they were judiciously collected, all Sorts of Rarities might, by a prudent Management, be disposed of to a greater Profit than any Merchandize whatsoever. In my Letter was enclosed some Remarks on the Value of colour'd Stones, wherein, amongst other Things, my Friend noted, that the most judicious Persons were at a Loss as to the Ground of that Distinction, which had hitherto been made between oriental and occidental Emeralds, there being a great Doubt whether there were in truth any oriental Stones of that Sort. That, however, it was held reasonable to preserve the Distinction, because it was evidently founded in Nature, there being one Kind of Emerald harder, brighter, and clearer, than those commonly brought from the *West-Indies*; which kind was yet in great Esteem, though the other, by being become common, were much sunk in their Value. At the same time we received certain *European* Goods, some Toys, and other Curiosities.

AMONG these was a Gold Watch made at *London*, which struck the Hour and half Hour; this I carried to my Patron *Hassan*, who was extremely pleased with it, and who for it and the Manuscript of *Geomancy* gave me the three small Emeralds I spoke of, which were worth 250 Sequins, or better. As soon as an Opportunity offered, I sent two of these to Mr. *Fetherstone*, assuring him, that they were of that kind which were stiled oriental. The next Time I went to visit *Hassan*, who was just returned from *Rosetta*, he opened to me

the Design he had formed when I had first Admittance to him, and of which, though I did not apprehend them, he had given me frequent Hints since. At this Visit he took Notice to me of the insatiate Avarice of the *Turks*, and of their expecting annually greater and greater Presents for the Favours he received from them, which in the End, he said, would make it impossible for him to continue longer in *Egypt*. He spoke next of the Difficulty of retiring from thence without leaving the best Part of his Effects behind him ; and at last, as if he had been weary of this Discourse, and intended to have talked of somewhat else, he asked me what I thought of the Emeralds I had had of him, and whether larger ones of like Beauty were not valuable in *Europe* ; I told him they were, but that they were not easily to be had. I know it, reply'd he, and I know both what they are worth and how to dispose of them, and if I knew a Man whom I could trust, perhaps I would say that I know where to find them. I then began to apprehend what it was he aimed at. I told him that I did not doubt, that after having so long and so happily managed so extraordinary a Commerce, he knew many valuable Secrets, and also a great many Persons to whom they might be confided. You are mistaken, my Friend, said he, I scarce know any of the former, and for the latter I know none. Our *Arabs* and *Moors* know perfectly well their own Affairs, and how to manage them ; there are also among them Men of great Probity ; but, with respect to the Business I would have performed, there are none of them fit to be employed. There is shortly a Caravan to set out for *Syria*. Under pretence of sending certain Commodities therewith, I can send some of my People with

with fix or eight Camels laden with Money, if you will go with them to *Suez*, where, on presenting a Letter which I will give you to an *Arab* Chief, who lives not far from thence, he will shew you some of these Stones, and you will, no doubt, make the best Bargain for me you can. I consent also that you shall employ as much Money of your own as you please in the same Way. I immediately accepted this Proposal, without well weighing the Consequences of trusting my self alone with the Dependants of a *Moor*, People with whom no *Frank* in *Cairo* would have ventured himself in the Desert. But Avarice, like all other Passions, so choaks up the Passages of the Understanding, that no Thoughts which wear not its Livery can have Entrance.

WHEN I had once taken this Resolution, I endeavoured as studiously to conceal the Motives thereto from Mr. *Perez* and our Servant, as if they had been my Enemies, and why? because I knew them too well to believe they would ever suffer me to expose my self to so imminent a Danger. I provided, therefore, privately, two hundred Sequins in Gold; and having informed Mr. *Perez* that I had a Mind to travel to *Suez*, he at first opposed it, but when he saw I continued firm in my Resolution, he yielded to it, and assisted me in providing for my Journey. The Reasons I offered to him were, that I had heard many valuable Commodities were to be bought there; that I was in hopes of picking up Curiosities which might escape us in this Part of *Egypt*, and that I had an earnest Desire to look upon the Red Sea. While I waited for the Departure of the Caravan, my Thoughts were so much disturbed with the Ideas of this

Journey, that I found it very difficult to sleep, and was thereby much incommoded.

OF this I one Day complained to *Hassan*, who immediately rallied me thereupon, as a Physician of small Experience, or at least as one who did not care to practise much upon my self. He then asked me if I had not yet learned the *Turkish* Method of calming the Mind. I thought at first he meant Opium, or some other Drug of that Sort; but he presently call'd for a young Man, and, as soon as he appeared, ordered him to read where he left off the Night before. The Lad took up a Book, and did as he was directed; *Hassan* explaining to me every Period. When the Boy had done reading, *Hassan* raised several Questions on the Story we had heard; and perceiving that my Humour was quite changed, You see, said he, my Friend, that we are not such Barbarians as many of the *Franks* believe us. It is indeed the worst Property your People have that they are extremely vain and conceited, wedded to their own Customs, and yet provoked to see others tenacious of theirs. I know that many *Franks* laugh at our Histories, and at this Method of soothing our Cares; yet I conceive that it is as natural and as innocent as drinking great Quantities of Wine, or Gaming, which are your common Diversions. And though our Histories differ much, as I am informed, from yours, yet that is no Reason that they should be either fabulous or foolish. Our Manners have always differed, as also our Methods of conducting War and Peace, our Learning and our Pleasures. Why then should our Histories be like yours? Or why should they be despised for being unlike them? Is not this a Mark of
your

your Vanity and Pride, rather than of your Knowledge or Politeness? I could not help admitting that he had Reason for what he said; and I do confess that there is to me nothing more strange, than that our Writers of Travels should censure the *Turks* for their Inclination to hear Tales and Stories read to them at their Leisure Moments, when at the same time if this very Inclination did not prevail among Christians, their Books could not be read at all. How easily do we see Motes in others Eyes without minding the Beams in our own.

THE Book which the Servant of *Hassan* read had for its Title *Tarik-al-abbas*, i. e. The History of the *Abassides*. The Story that he read was this. The famous *Caliph al-Mamon* had for his Uncle one *Ibrahim*, the Son by the Mother's Side, of a black Slave, a Man of a dusky Countenance, a little unweildy, but of great Parts, generous, good-humoured, a great Lover of Music, and one who had an excellent Voice. It so happened that the *Caliph*, by a singular Strain of Justice, which probably never enter'd the Head of any Prince but himself, declared for his Successor the eldest of the Family of *Ali*, conceiving him to have a just Right to the Throne; and this he did in Prejudice to his own Children, and all his Relations. The Family of *Abbas* were not in the Humour of doing Justice at the Expence of that great Power which they had got into their Hands. They therefore took Advantage of a Meeting they had at *Bagdat*, and having solemnly deposed *Al-Mamon*, elevated *Ibrahim* his Uncle to the *Caliphate*. This Prince reigned upwards of two Years with great Mildness, and much Applause; at the end of that Space *Al-Mamon* came at the Head of a great Army to besiege *Bagdat*. *Ibrahim*
finding

finding himself too weak to resist his Nephew, abdicated the Government, and for some Time hid himself amongst his Friends ; but the *Caliph* having given strict Orders to search for him, and having promised a vast Reward to the Person who should discover him, he was at last taken, and delivered to *Al-Mamon*. As soon as the *Caliph* knew that his Uncle was taken, he sent for *Achmet*, his Grand Vizir, and asked him what he should do with him. *Father of the Faithful*, answered the Minister, *if thou shouldst put him to Death, thou wouldst therein follow the Example of many great Princes ; but if thou shouldst pardon him, and take him into Favour, thou wilt leave thy Example to all that are to follow thee.* The *Caliph* smiled, *I had already determined*, said he, *to receive him not as the Usurper of my Throne, but as the Brother of my Father ;* having said this, he ordered *Ibrahim* to be admitted, and having embraced him cordially, they supped together that Night.

WHEN the Repast was finished, *Uncle*, said the *Caliph*, *one good Turn deserves another ; I have freely pardoned you, tell me then frankly the most extraordinary Adventure that hath befallen you during the Time you hid yourself.* With all my Heart, said *Ibrahim*. You must know that I made it a Rule with me to lye but one Night in one Place, and the Time at which I chose to retire from my Lodgings was about Noon, when there are but few People in the Streets. One Day when I had thus sallied out, and was looking for a fresh Place of Refuge, I found myself over-against a House, the Shop of which was shut up, and the Master was standing at the Door, a Man of a dusky Complexion, flat Nose, fat, and not unlike myself. I asked him if it was not possible

possible for me to repose my self a little in his House, he answered me very civilly in the affirmative, conducted me to an Apartment which lay quite behind, and having desired me to make my self perfectly easy, shot through the House out of the Door, and locked it behind him. I confess his Conduct made a greater Impression upon me than his Advice. I took it for granted he was gone to call the Guards, and I spent the Moments very restlessly 'till his Return. It was not long before he came back loaded with Victuals, and attended by a Man who brought a Bed, Coverlid, and other Things. I thought, said the Man, that it was not proper to serve you with what others had used, and therefore have bought every Thing new for you ; I get my Living as a *Barber*, but I endeavour to live like a good Man, therefore set your Mind at Rest, and when you find you have a Stomach let us eat together and be merry. The Behaviour of the Man corresponded so exactly with his Language, that I could not help giving Credit to him, and therefore as soon as I had composed myself a little we spread the Table, and made a very hearty Meal. While I was eating, the *Barber* asked me if I did not some times drink Wine, I told him I did, and he immediately produced some as good as could be wished. When we had finished our Repast, my Host entreated me to grant him one Favour, I told him I would with all my Heart, then presenting me a Lute, this said he, is a good Instrument, but to render its Harmony compleat, it should be accompanied by a Voice like yours. This surprized me exceedingly, and I could not help asking, how he came to imagine that I had so good a Voice? My Lord said he, you cannot be concealed, I know that
you

you are *Ibrahim*, the Uncle of our *Caliph*, and that he has promised 100,000 Pieces of Silver for discovering where you are. There needed no more than this, I instantly took the Lute, and accompanied it with my Voice. The *Barber* was mightily pleased, and when I had done finging, offered to sing himself if I would accompany his Voice with the Lute, to which I readily yielding he performed with incredible Sweetness, and I asked with Astonishment where he had learned those *Airs*, but he easily satisfied me, by informing me that he had lived for some Years with *Moussouli*, the most excellent Musician of our Age.

THE next Day, when at my usual Time I was about to depart, I offered my Landlord a Purse of Gold as a Reward for his Kindness and Fidelity, but he refused it with an Air of Anger and Disdain. *How odd*, my Lord said he, *is your Behaviour, you see I have done every Thing in my Power to discharge what the Laws of Hospitality require, and you would rob me of the Fruits of all my Pains, by treating me as if I kept an Inn.* This said *Ibrahim* was the most extraordinary Event which befel me while I suffered under your Displeasure. The *Caliph* was extreamly pleased with this Recital, and lived thence forward with his Uncle, in the strictest Friendship to the Day of his Death, and left him as a Counsellor to his Successor.

FROM this Time forward I took the Advice of my Patron, and whenever I found myself uneasy and incapable of Repose, I instantly had Recourse to one of the many Books of entertaining Narrations which are to be met with in this Country, most of the Oriental Histories being indeed no other. There are many in *Arabick*,
but

but the best of these sort of Writings are in the *Persian* Language. This, if I may be allowed the Phrase, is the *Court Language of the East*, as the *Arabick* is the learned, so that we may compare the former to the *French*, and the latter to the *Latin*, without a tolerable Understanding of both which, there is no passing for an able Man. In *Egypt*, such as apply themselves to Study, take Care first to acquire the *Arabick*, then the *Persian*, and lastly the *Turkish* Language in Perfection ; then they proceed to the Sciences, of which they have Systems as regular, their Method of teaching considered, as ours. Learning is however very expensive, because they have nothing but Manuscripts, from which they will hardly be beaten by any Reasons that we can offer them, since transcribing Books is a great Trade, employs many Hands, and is the first Reward of Learning, by producing to a diligent Person, and a good Scribe, a Livelihood on the Spot. Above all I think their Dictionaries are dear, the best and most comprehensive cannot be bought under 100 *Piasters*, not but sometimes Manuscripts are to met with pretty cheap. Many of the Learned boast of their Secrets in Physick and Chemistry, but if they have any, they are very tenacious of them, and they frequently prove but Trifles when they are known. I bought three Secrets for fixing Mercury, two of them were absolutely false, and the third fallacious ; for after three Weeks, the Mercury became fluid again by the meer Operation of the Air. As soon as I was acquainted with *Hassan* so far as to converse with him about these Things, I received from him a fourth Method of performing the same Thing, *viz.* by boiling Mercury in the Juice of the Herb *Lunaria*, called
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by the *Greeks Sellenitis* ; but I never made the Experiment, because I have Reason to think, that this Notion is built on the Doctrine of Signatures, which I confess I do not much esteem, because I scarce comprehend it at all ; and I am perswaded, that in most of the Instances which are produced to favour it, those who produce them are mistaken ; but enough of this.

IN the beginning of the Month of *April*, the Caravan set out, and on the 3d Day of the same Month I departed from *Cairo*, attended by two *Arabs*, who were privately recommended to me by *Hassan*. Mr. *Perez*, two *Italian* and three *French* Merchants, with *Antonio*, came to see me on my Way, and I observed, that Mr. *Perez* when he took Leave of me, was under an extraordinary Concern. As for poor *Antonio*, he was all in Tears. All that Day we travelled through a sandy Plain, every Grain of which seemed to be perfect Crystal ; so that the Reflection of the Light from thence exceedingly hurt my Eyes. In the Evening we overtook six Camels, with several *Arabs* who belonged to them, and a Man, who immediately saluted me, told me his Name was *Morat*, and that he was my Slave. At first I did not understand him, but he soon let me know that he belonged to my Patron *Hassan*, and that the Lading of these Camels were to be disposed of by me, according to a Letter of Instructions which he delivered to me.

WE slept together under a Tent, but found the Night excessively cool. Our Supper was very light, consisting only of Dates, and dried Fruits. As for the *Arabs* they mixed some Water and Flour, and having kneaded it into a Paste, left it on a Cloth to heave while

while they lighted a Fire; then throwing it on the Embers, and turning it often, at last they took it off half baked, kneaded it again in Salt and Oyl, and breaking it into little Pieces, eat it as comfortably and as merrily as if it had been the finest Provision in the World. The *Moor* entertained me the first part of the Night with many singular Stories of the Riches of *Egypt* which he said were buried in all those Vaults, and under all the Needles, about which the *Franks* were so curious; he also apprehended that our copying Inscriptions was merely with a View to discover the Contents of the Places from whence they were taken. He likewise seriously assured me that our Friend *Hassan* had a Book containing an Inventory of all the hidden Treasures in *Egypt*, with Copies of the *Talismans* by which they were secured, and an Account of the manner by which their Force might be dissolved. I confess at this Time I thought all he said the Effects of pure Imagination, but I have been since informed, that there is in reality a Book of this sort, and that some Copies have been carried into *Europe*.

THE fourth of *April* we continued our Journey slowly, pleasantly, and with great Unanimity amongst ourselves, for I went into all the Folly of the *Arabs*, and listened attentively to every Thing they told me, as if I had regarded all their Sayings as the most authentick Oracles. We slept that Night on a little Slip of Land, on which there was Grass, and where a few Sheep were feeding. I tasted that Grass out of Curiosity, and found it brackish; I bought one of the Sheep and gave it to the *Arabs*, who dressed it after their manner, I eat of it, and found it very good. Upon cutting up a
Turf

Turf it appeared that the Earth was wonderfully charg'd with Nitre, I tasted that too, but excepting its coldness, it left no relish on the Palate at all.

THE fifth, we jogg'd on soberly as before, my *Arabs* advising me to walk sometimes by the Side of the Camels, which change of Posture refreshed me exceedingly. We dined in a Valley, and as I apprehended, should have supp'd and lain in one; but either I mistook them, or our Guides themselves were mistaken, for we were obliged to sleep in the Plain, and I found the Air very nipping, tho' the Day had been hot. We eat at Night some Salad, which we pick'd by the Way, and found it very cool and refreshing.

THE sixth, we began to travel early, and three Hours before Noon came to the Foot of the Mountains. They make a strange Figure, many of them being hollow, as if Channels of Water had run under them, and to say the Truth, the Valleys we met with seemed to have been formerly the Beds of little Brooks. In the Afternoon we descended again into a great Plain, which extends quite to the *Red Sea*.

THE seventh, we arose early, and travelled very hard, in order to be at our Journey's End that Evening, which we with much Difficulty effected; but as it was late in the Evening before we came in sight of *Suez*, and as the *Arabs* never enter Towns, I chose to remain with them under their Tents, with which they were mightily pleased; for they esteem nothing so much as a ready Conformity to their Customs.

THE next Day I went with my *Moor* to *Suez*, who conducted me to the House of a Person who corresponded with *Hassan*, and who received us with all imaginable

ble Kindness and Respect, and dispatched, as soon as we arrived, his Son to carry Advice to the *Bey* of our Arrival. We remained with this Man two Days, in which Space I easily took a View of the Town or Port of *Suez*, than which nothing can be conceived more contemptible in its appearance, or of higher Consequence in its self. It stands about a Mile from the Sea without Fortifications, and with a very indifferent Garrison. There were at this Time three Ships there one *Turkish*, one *Arabian*, and one *Indian* Vessel, a heavy, clumsy, ill built Thing, fit only for those Seas, where upon the least Squal of Wind they run into Port, and are sometimes six Months in making a Voyage of a Week. Here are however vast Magazines of rich Goods, and it is wonderful that this Port being in the Hands of a Potentate who loves Money so well, is not made more beneficial, tho' as Things stand, he raises a vast Revenue from it. But what to me appears still more amazing is the want of Attention among the Christian Traders; for nothing can be plainer than that the settling a Factory here would be of prodigious Consequence, and might in some Measure alter once again the Trade of the *Indies*. Land Carriage by Camels is very easy and cheap, and the Distance between *Suez* and *Damietta* not above 130 Miles; so that for ought I perceive, *Indian* Commodities might be carried from thence to *Marseilles* in three Weeks, or a Month at farthest. I know very well that there is much Difficulty in treating with the *Turks* about altering old Customs, but I know full as well that there is no Custom they will not alter, for the Sake of getting by it; but this by the way, having in another Place considered this Matter more at large

with a View to the Enlargement of our *English* Commerce, which publick Ministers treat as Men of Quality do their Wives, with much outward Respect, and very little real Affection, often throwing away twice as much in their private Pleasures as would be necessary to fulfil all the Ends, which if it were not for Expence, they pretend they would make it their Glory to obtain, as if every *Mistress* had a Right to be profuse except the *Publick*.

THE *Turk* at whose House I was, had better Notions of Trade than are common to People of his Nation, which without question was the Reason that *Hassan* chose him for his Correspondent. He shewed me a great many curious Things, and amongst others a Drawer of small Pearl, which were very perfect, and were all bored; and therefore he valued them at a high Rate, Pearls being grown scarce of late Years at *Suez*, tho' the grand Fishery for them is in the *Red-Sea*. He said the *Arabian* Ladies were passionately fond of them, and making Use of them in Embroideries, occasioned their bearing a much higher Price here than in *Europe*, where they were suddenly grown into disesteem. To say the Truth, I perceived plainly, that as to valuable Commodities which lay in little Room, they could not be bought to any great Advantage; but then again, as to more bulky Wares, very large Profit might without doubt be made upon them. *Isouf Aga* had a very convenient House, tho' it made but a very mean Figure. In an outward Apartment there was a Fountain of Water, which in those Countries affords peculiar Pleasure to the Eye, at the same Time that it is of the greatest Use; this Apartment was neatly paved and lined with

with a kind of Mats chequer'd Green and Straw Colour. Behind it was the Apartment in which he received Company, it was sprinkled with sweet scented Waters, and he was served with Coffee and Tobacco of a kind superior to any Thing I had ever tasted. His Coffee was roasted, ground and boyled in the Space of 7 or 8 Minutes; so that it had an Oil upon it extreamly grateful to the Taste, and comfortable to the Head. His Tobacco was made up into Rolls strongly twisted, so mild and pleasant to the Taste, that I thought some peculiar Art had been made Use of in curing it; but he assured me, that it was the natural Flavour of the Leaf, which he said grew in *Arabia*, but my *Moor* affirmed the contrary, and I believe he was in the right.

IN Discourse the *Aga* acquainted me, that he had a young Son, whose Head was much out of Order at the full and Change of the Moon. I desired to see the Child, and after having examined him strictly, as to the Nature of his Complaints, I found Means by a Snuff to discharge a great quantity of fætid Matter by the Nose, whereby the Child was immediately relieved, and I gave the Father Directions how to proceed in Case the Disorder should return, together with some Observations as to the Diet and Exercise of the Child, till such Time as his Constitution was thoroughly settled. In return the *Aga* made me a Present of several Curiosities, and of a quantity of Papers which had belonged to a *Frank* who died at his House. He could not tell of what Nation he was, tho' by his Papers it should seem he was a *Frenchman*, by Profession he was a *Surgeon*, and had lived in *Ethiopia* upwards of 25 Years, from whence with some Difficulty he had escaped to

Suez, in hopes without question, that from thence he might find a Way of returning into *Europe*. This Man on Account of his Profession was admitted into the House of the *Aga*, and remained there three Months, most of which Time he was on a declining Condition, and at length died with great composure of Mind. What Effects he had, which I could not find were very valuable, came into the Hands of his *Host*, who not being able to make any Use of his Papers, laid hold of this Opportunity of obliging me, which he did very effectually, there being in them abundance of curious Observations, with which otherwise I could never have been acquainted.

THE Messenger he had dispatched to the *Bey*, being returned with an Account of the Place where we might find him, and with an Order that we should immediately attend him, it was agreed that the very next Day we should set out. I would have been glad to have been exactly informed whither we were to go, or at least how far, but the Messenger declined giving me any Answer to either of these Questions, only he told us in general, that he would conduct us as safe and as speedily to the *Bey* as we could desire.

ON the 10th of *April* in the Morning, we returned to our *Arabs*, and about nine o'Clock set out, our Guide being mounted on an *Arabian* Courser, and all the rest of our Train on Camels. We travelled all that Day towards the Mountains, and encamped in the Evening near the Foot of them. The next Day, about Noon, we reached them, and having marched very slowly through a narrow troublesome Road, we passed the Evening near the Ruins of an ancient Edifice. I went accompanied by

by our Guide, and by the Moor *Morat*, to take a View of them. They were of considerable Extent, and seemed to have consisted of a Square composed of smaller Buildings in the same Form with that in the Centre, which was still pretty entire, and which was therefore the chief Object of our Curiosity. It was built in the Form of a Beehive, and might be about a hundred and eighty Feet in Height. There was an Entry, but it was quite choaked up with Sand, and we had not Time to let the *Arabs* remove it, which otherwise might easily have been done. I was assured, that in the Inside of this Building there was a large Hall, and in the Centre of it a Stair-case descending into another Hall underneath, from whence there were Galleries of Communication, which led to all Sides of the Squares. All these Structures were built of that which is called *Thebaic* Marble, or the Stones hewed out of those very Rocks through which we travelled. Early the next Morning we set out again, and soon enter'd a large plain Road cut with infinite Labour in the Rock, in which we travelled all that and the next Day.

ON the 14th, about two in the Afternoon, we turned off on the Right, and having without much Difficulty descended the Mountains, we came to the Habitation or Palace of the Bey *Mehemed*, to whom being presented by our Guide, we were very graciously receiv'd, and had the Honour of eating with him. At Supper he only enquired generally of the Health and Welfare of *Hassan*, whom he stiled his Brother, and of whom he spoke with the warmest Tokens of Affection. At parting he told us that he would speak to me the next Day on the Business of my Journey, accordingly the next

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Morning,

Morning, after I had eaten some dried Fruits and Bread, which were brought me by an *Abyssine* Slave, together with a pleasant kind of Sherbet, I was conducted to a Summer-house, where the *Bey* sat on a Sofa smoaking. He was upwards of fifty Years old, well-shaped, and a venerable Person in his Aspect. He treated me with much Civility, and after some Discourse on different Subjects, he asked me whether *Hassan* had not charged me with another Letter than that which I had given him the Night before: I told him he had, but that my Instructions were not to part with it 'till he had solemnly promised not to discover its Contents. This he readily complied with, and I thereupon immediately put the Letter into his Hand. He read it with some Emotion, and when he had read it, continued for some time silent and thoughtful. At length he renewed the Conversation.

FRIEND, said he, *Hassan* need not have commanded thee not to part with his Epistle 'till I had promised to conceal its Contents. He knew well enough that I dare not mention them; and I suppose he knows thee very well, otherwise he would not have put my Safety and his own into your Hands: Tell me, therefore, how you became acquainted with him; how long and how far you have served him. Upon this I entered into a genuine Detail of my Correspondence with *Hassan*, and did not fail to mention the Book I had procured him from *Europe*, and our Discourses on Chemistry, in hopes that this might be the Foible of *Mehemed*, as well as of *Hassan*; in which I happened to judge right.

THE *Bey* heard me with great Attention, and without once interrupting me while I was speaking, but he kept his Eyes very steadily fixed upon me; and when I had finished

finished my Narration, told me he was glad that *Hassan* had sent him so intelligent a Person, and that he would take another Opportunity of conversing with me upon these Subjects. I was then conducted back to my Apartment by the Slave, who had attended me the Night before, and who in my Absence had brought into my Room a Chair, a Table, and some other Utensils necessary to a *European*. This Slave was about 30 Years of Age, extremely diligent, modest and docile; so that he furnished me with whatever I asked for, and informed me of such Things as I thought fit to ask about, with a great deal of Frankness. I acted, however, with great Caution, on Account of what the *Bey* had said, which to me implied little less than that I was upon my good Behaviour, and that according as he conceived of my Conduct, he should either trust me, or provide for his own and his Friend's Security at my Expence.

At Noon we eat together with *Morat*, and two other Persons, in the Evening he sent for me, and we had a long Conversation, wherein I discovered that he was a universal Scholar, a Thing not so rare as we imagine among the *Arabs*, especially those of Quality, such as him of whom I am speaking, whose Ancestors had been immemorially Lords or Governors of this Part of *Egypt*, and were held to be descended from its ancient Princes. *Mehemed* told me amongst other Things, that he had in his Youth studied *Elm-al-Nogioum*, i. e. The Science of the Stars, or what we call Astrology. But he said that it created a great deal of Uneasiness, hindered him from acting according to the Rules of Prudence, and filled him with Suspicions. To divert his Mind from a Science so little productive of Pleasure or Profit, he apply'd him-

self to study *Al-Ecfir*, i. e. *Alchymy*, whence our Word Elixir. This perfectly answered his End. For as it involved him in a long Train of Speculations and Experiments, so it kept him, by a continual Succession of Pursuits, from returning to the Study of Astrology, and, at the same Time, furnished the Means of diverting his leisure Hours. He was far from being so great an Enthusiast as *Hassan*. Time, Experience, and a larger Fund of Knowledge, had eradicated that Fierceness and Obstinacy so natural to the *Arabians*, and taught him a philosophical Calmness rarely to be met with in Christendom. One of his Maxims was never to discourse on a Subject he did not understand, or to conceive that he understood any Thing so well as not to want farther Instruction. With all this Wisdom he seem'd to be thoroughly persuaded that Transmutation was very possible; that it had been formerly known and practised in the *Indies*, and that there was Reason to believe the *Bramins*, whom he called *Gioghis*, i. e. Religious Persons, were still acquainted with it. He informed me, that one of these becoming a *Mohammedan*, had translated the whole Body of their Philosophy into *Arabick*, under the Title of *Merat-al-Maani*, or the *Speculum* of Science, which Book he purchased at a very high Price, but found it written in a dark and figurative Stile; so that it was not of great Use to him. A Proof upon which he principally insisted, was the Treasures found in the *Indies* by the Sultan *Mahmut* the *Gasnavite*, which by authentic Authors were affirmed to exceed sixty Millions of Sequins in Gold, coined and uncoined. These Treasures, in his Opinion, were not the pure Effects of Nature, but were rather owing to the Art of the *Indian* Sages. In such

Discourses

Discourses as these we passed away a Fortnight, which would have been spent pleasantly enough if I had not been apprehensive that not only *Hassan*, but my Friend *Perez*, would be extremely alarmed at my Stay ; of which, to say the Truth, I knew not what to think myself.

To divert the Time as well as I could, I began to look over the Papers of the *French* Surgeon, which had been given me by *Isouf Aga*. Amongst them I found an exact and concise Description of the Empire of *Abyssina*, concerning which I had assiduously enquired at *Cairo*, but was able to learn no more News concerning it there than if I had been at *Geneva* or *London*, except that the Riches of this extensive Empire were brought into *Egypt* by the *Nubian Caravans*. In reading this Discourse, I collected a small Paper of Queries, upon which I interrogated *Melec*, the *Abyssine* Slave, who attended me ; his Answers served as a kind of Annotations to the Account afore-mention'd, and set me perfectly at rest as to many Points which 'till then I thought utterly unintelligible, *European* Authors being extremely confused in all that they deliver concerning this Empire and its Inhabitants.

ON the last Day of *April*, being sent for by the *Bey*, to confer with him in the Afternoon, I found him, as I thought, in a little Hurry, and after some previous Conversation, he told me that he intended the next Morning to carry me abroad with him, in order to shew me the Ruins of an ancient City at no great Distance ; therefore he desired I would be ready as early as I could. I confess I knew not what to make of this Invitation, nor could I sleep all the Night : So that when *Melec* came in the Morning to awaken me, he found me already up
and

and drest. It was once in my Head to have asked this Slave some Questions, but not knowing what Consequences might attend it, and dreading, though I knew not why, the Severity of the *Bey*, I held my Tongue. However, while I was eating my Breakfast, *Melec* told me that he was to go with us ; that we should return at Night, and that he believed I would set out for *Cairo* on the Morrow. This pleased me very well, for I began now to wish myself out of these unknown Parts, where I was entirely at the Mercy of Strangers, and in a Condition to which no Man in his right Wits would have reduced himself.

AT the Close of his Discourse, *Melec* informed me that he had himself some Curiosities to dispose of, which he had casually met with in going to a City called *Siouf* with a Message from his Master: These, he said, he was content to let me take at my own Price when I should return. A Proposition which suited me very well. As soon as it was perfectly light, the *Bey* was ready to depart, attended by a Troop of *Arabian* Cavaliers, consisting of sixty Men well armed. *Morat*, and myself, had Horses provided for us, and coasting along the Mountains we came by Noon to a Road which struck as it were into the Heart of them. There the *Bey* gave Orders for his Guards to halt, and then proceeding with his Slave *Melec*, he conducted *Morat* and myself to a Cave at some Distance, one of the most stupendious Works which yet remains of the ancient *Egyptian* Magnificence. It is hewn out of the solid Rock, supported by Pillars of the same Stone, wrought with all imaginable Art and Beauty, and filled with hieroglyphic and other Characters. Here we sat down in the Cool, and eat a short Repast

Repast, after which *Melec* and *Morat* went to give Orders to the Guards, and left the *Bey* alone with me in the Grotto.

As soon as they were gone, my Friend said he, if Time would permit I could entertain you with a pleasant Account of the wonderful Stories that are told us of this Grotto, wherein it is supposed there are greater Treasures buried than in the Grand Seignior's Coffers. The most intelligent are of Opinion, that some where in this Neighbourhood lies that famous Mine of Emeralds so much spoken of in the *East*, and so fatal to its Owners. But I can assure you, that the last Story is full as ill grounded as the first; for I am well satisfied, that the Mine of Emeralds is not here, nay as far as my Information reaches, it is not on this Side the *Nile*, tho' one of my Predecessors lost his Life on a Supposition that he was possessed of it. The Ground of this Story was, his having collected a great quantity of Emeralds, which tho' in other Respects he was a wise Man, shewed him to be extremely deficient in true Policy. The then Bashaw of *Cairo*, whose Name was *Mustapha*, was avaricious in the highest Degree, and on a Suspicion that he should possess himself of immense Wealth, he made War upon and destroyed the unhappy Prince, yet without gaining the End he sought, for his Treasures could never be found, and the Bashaw himself was the Year following strangled at the *Porte*. On this Account I am not a little tender of owning, that I have any of these fatal Stones, at the same Time I am not averse to the sale of them upon reasonable Terms; because any other Commodity of Value suits me better.

HAVING

HAVING said this, he produced a little Casket from under his Robe, and having opened it, shewed me a great many of these Jewels, some of them wonderful perfect, and others larger, but cloudy and full of Specks. We were not long in bargaining, for he asked me at first a very moderate Price, and at last I agreed for 30 Stones on the part of *Hassan*, and 3 for myself. One of 40, one of 50, and the other for the Price of 70 *Sequins*. Those I bought for *Hassan* were absolutely perfect, those on my own Account were large but foul, and I bought them with a View to make Use of the Secret I had from M. *Pucci*, which I was sensible would render them of much more Value than they were sold to me. After our Business was over, the *Bey* shewed me another Parcel, consisting of 19 large Stones, but far less perfect than those I had seen before. He seemed very desirous of selling me these altogether, I told him frankly that I had gone to the Extent of my Commission, and that I had laid out all my own Money also. He then shewed me 5 Stones tied up in a Bag of a still larger Size, very thick but foul, and of different Colours. If these said he were perfect, they would be worth more Money than you have given me for all the rest, as they are I will sell them for 500 *Sequins*. This I confess tempted me exceedingly, and immediately brought into my Head what I never once thought on before, *viz.* That I had about me a Pearl Necklace which had been my Mothers, and which I had determined never to part from. I remembered that *Isouf* had told me Pearls bore a very high Price in these Parts, and thereupon I took a Resolution of beseeching the *Bey* to refer this Negotiation till our Return to his Castle,

Castle, which at first he declined, but afterwards putting up the Stones with those I had bought, he delivered the whole Parcel to me in a Bag, bidding me take Care to let no Body suspect our Business there to have been any other than to gratify my Curiosity with a Sight of these Grottos, for there were several within our View, and we went afterwards to look upon them.

AFTER a Stay of 3 or 4 Hours, we mounted our Horses again, and returned to the *Bey's* Palace just as it was dark. It happened that the *Cheik* of an adjacent Village, and a Friend of his came that Afternoon to visit the *Bey*, and staid for his Return ; so that our Conversation was put off till the Morning. I retired earlier than usual on Account of the Strangers, and that I might have Time to speak to *Melec* about the Things he had promised to sell me. When I was come to my Chamber, I put him in mind of his Promise, and he assured me, that as soon as the *Bey* was retired to Rest, he would come and shew me what he had mention'd. He came accordingly, and brought the better half of a broken Urn, with about 180 Medals of Gold, Silver, and large Brads, I was extremely surprized at so unexpected a Sight, and the first Question I asked was, whether the *Bey* knew any Thing of them? the poor Fellow trembling, affirmed he did not, and began I believe to apprehend that I would betray him ; I bid him be of good Courage, and asked him what he valued these Curiosities at, he said 10 *Sequins*, I immediately gave him 20, and observed to him, that we were alike in Danger if we broke our Faiths. I put the Medals amongst my Equipage, and gave him the broken Urn to bury in the Place from whence he had taken it, after which

which he departed, and I being exceedingly fatigued, went to my Rest.

IN the Morning *Melec* waked me by coming into the Room, which he seldom did, and I was at first extremely surprized, supposing that some Accident had happened, I was confirmed in this, when he told me, that the *Bey* desired to speak with me in an Hour. The Slave's looking perfectly easy and composed, alarmed me still more, from an Apprehension that he had betrayed me, and that this was one of those Artifices of which I had been so often forewarned, from my Propensity to converse with *Moors* and *Arabs*. I dressed myself with much Hurry and Confusion, and addressed myself to my Prayers with much Distraction of Mind; when I had finished them with much ado, it shot into my Mind that the *Bey* had sent for me about the large Emeralds, and thereupon I immediately grew easy again, wondering at my former Disquiet and fully persuaded that a Man's own Suspicions excruciate him much more than any real Evils to which he stands exposed, from the ordinary Events in Life. The first Thing I did was, to unrip the Lappit of an old Waistcoat which I wore over my Shirt, and in which the Necklace was sewed at full length; it consisted of 5 Rows of Pearl with Pears at each End, they were extremely fine, and at the Time they were bought, of a very high Price. I could not help shedding Tears at the Sight of it, and began to charge myself with the want of filial Tenderness, in parting thus with my Mother's Necklace to an Infidel. But when I had recollected myself a little, when I considered that the Value of all these Things was imaginary, and that a Parent if living could not but
approve

approve an Advantage gained by an Exchange of Things useless in themselves ; I recovered my Tranquility, and taking off the two Pears, resolved to produce only five Rows of Pearls.

By that Time I had done this, *Melec* came to hasten me, so I went directly to the *Bey's* Apartment, carrying the five Emeralds with me, which as soon as we were alone I produced. Well my Friend, said *Mahemed*, what is it you have to offer me for these Children of the Sea? alluding to the Colour of the Stones. I have answered I, some of the true Children of the Sea, presenting him at the same time the Necklace ; he looked upon it with an Air of Pleasure and Astonishment, from whence I gathered, that I should be successful in my Negotiation. After looking at them for some Time, my Friend, said *Mehemed*, here are about 300 Pearls, if I value them at a *Sequin* a piece they will purchase only 3 of those Stones. True my Lord, said I, but you will consider that you set a Value on your own Emeralds and on my Pearls. Very well, replied *Mehemed* gravely ; and are you not a great Gainer by the Value which I have set? I then shewed him the two Pears, and our Business being quickly adjusted, he desired me to bring the rest of the Emeralds with me when I came to Dinner, which I accordingly did, and after our Repast was over retiring to a Summer-house, he put up each of the Stones in Paper, affixed his Seal or Mark, for it is taken off only with Ink, on the Folds of each of them, and wrote within to whom it belonged, when he had so done, he put them all into the Bag, and that again into a little Case which he also sealed with four Seals, and delivered it to me. He then

then demanded whether I would return to *Cairo* the next Day, or repose a Day longer, I chose the latter for the Sake of some Questions which I had to ask *Melec*.

THE *Bey* then told me, that all the *Arabs* I brought with me must remain with him ; but that *Morat* should return with me, and that he would send a Person in whom he could confide, to see us safely embarked on the *Nile* with our Baggage, for that he thought it would not be safe for us to return by Land. This somewhat surprized me, for I had no Idea of returning any other Way than that by which I came ; but when I had considered the Necessity of the Thing, and that the Return of these *Arabs* with their Camels might be fatal, not only to them, but to me. I very readily acquiesced, and thanked the *Bey* for his Care. When all these Things were adjusted, he told me, that in the Grotto's where we had been before, he had discovered some subterraneous Passages, in which he at first supposed some Treasure might be hid ; but that upon a stricter Scrutiny, he discovered they were meer *Catacombs*, and that he had taken out of them some embalm'd Birds, certain Idols, and figured Stones, which he promised to shew me, as he did the next Morning, and afterwards made me a Present of them, in return for which I gave him a little silver Case of Instruments which I carried in my Pocket.

IN the Evening some Strangers arrived, which was the Reason that I did not see the *Bey* any more that Night, which gave me an Opportunity of finishing at leisure all the Inquiries I had to make from *Melec*. He told me, that about five Years before, as he was going with his Sister to meet a young Man to whom she was
to

to be married, they were all surprized by a Body of barbarous People which border on *Abyssinia*, and that after living in Servitude with them some Months, they sold him to a *Nubian* Merchant, who brought him into *Egypt*, and having received many Favours from the *Bey*, presented him and his Sister, whom he had also bought, to *Mehemed*, with whom they had lived ever since.

THIS Sister I understood remained in the Women's Apartment constantly, and tho' *Melec* did not tell me so, yet from various Circumstances I conjectured, that she was one of the *Bey's* Concubines. In this I was confirmed by the small Desire the *Abyssine* expressed to return into his own Country, or of obtaining his Liberty. He was perfectly satisfied with his present Condition, and was only desirous of having a little Money by him, in Case any Accident should happen to his Master, a Thing frequent enough among these little Princes, who when united are powerful enough to give Law to the Grand Seignior's Governor; but when at Variance with each other, as they generally are become Victims to their own ill-timed Resentments, and either die in the Field against some of their Neighbours and Competitors, or are strangled at *Cairo*, on some pretended Conspiracy.

THE next Day being the third of *May*, I spent almost entirely in the Company of the *Bey*, who seemed to open himself with unusual Confidence. He said he looked upon it as a Thing certain, that he should not hear often from *Hassan*, that he thought his Design of retiring out of *Egypt* prudent; but that it required great Caution in the Execution of it, because the *Turks* were equally suspicious and barbarous, and having conceived

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strange Notions of his Wealth, would not fail on the slightest Pretence to rid themselves of him, in order to acquire it. The Evening I spent with *Melec*, getting all Things ready for my Journey, and on the fourth of *May* early in the Morning, having taken Leave of the *Bey*, who covered me with Civilities, *Morat* and I set out mounted on two fine Horses, attended by three Camels, which carried our Provisions and Baggage, and escorted by an *Arab* of Distinction, at the Head of twenty Cavaliers.

WE reached the *Nile* by two Day's easy Journey. The first Night we lay in a Village, inhabited for the most part by *Copts* or *Egyptian* Christians. I walked about in the Evening attended every where by the *Arab* Chief, who treated me with a great Politeness, but seemed to take to himself as much or more State than the *Bey*; I understood afterwards that he was his elder Brother's Son. His Name was *Hamet*, his Age about 23, he was an excellent Horseman even in Respect to the *Arabs*, who are all of them very expert in this Art. *Hamet* had more of the *Arabian* Haughtiness by far than his Uncle; but at the same Time he made Use of a much more ceremonious Courtesy, expressed himself with all the Pomp of *Eastern* Compliment; so that I had no small Trouble in conforming to all the Niceties which this illustrious Person expected.

THE next Evening we came to *Ackmin*; this is far from being a considerable Place at present, but in the Neighbourhood of it lye the Ruins of a very considerable City, among which I walked for a couple of Hours, observing with Regret the outrageous Havock which had been notoriously made of many Monuments
of

of ancient Magnificence. There were however some Rows of Columns, which had not only resisted the Injuries of Time, but those also of the barbarous Lords of *Egypt*, who have so industriously demolished what they wanted Genius to erect. Some Apartments also were in a manner entire, their Walls being every where embellished either with Sculptures or Paintings, the latter amazingly fresh; so that the Colours seem as if they were fresh laid on. I should have been more exact in examining these venerable Remains of Antiquity, if the *Emir Hamet* had not told me, that he was streightened in Time, and that he expected to meet that Evening the Patron of the Vessel in which we were to sail to *Cairo*.

I was therefore obliged to return immediately, and as he said, we found when we came back the Person he expected, and his Vessel. The Master behaved very respectfully to the *Emir*, and assured him, that he would use the utmost Care and Expedition in conveying us to *Cairo*. The next Morning all our Baggage was put on Board the Vessel, and when we came to take our Leave of the *Emir*, he appointed two of his Cavaliers to attend us. Then turning to *Morat* he embraced him, and wish'd him a good Voyage, desiring him to go with his *Arabians* immediately on Board the Vessel. In the mean Time he took me aside, and when we had walked a little Way together, he drew a Letter out of his Bosom, and having first touched his Forehead therewith, and afterwards kissed it, he delivered it to me, and I opened it after the like Ceremony.

It was sealed, or rather subscribed by the *Bey*, and contained an Order to deliver immediately to the *Emir*

Hamet the Packet with four Seals. I was so surprized I knew not what to say. The *Emir* perceived it, and endeavoured to comfort me, My Friend, said he, be not afflicted, you will suffer no Injury, either from me or my Uncle, we best know what is fit to be done in our Affairs and yours. I saw Resistance was impracticable; and therefore I gave him the Packet of Jewels, and then with a heavy Heart, in Spight of all his Promises and Assurances, I went on Board the Vessel, where I found *Morat* and the two *Arabs* with four other Persons belonging to the Bark, but the Patron was gone ashore to receive the last Instructions of the *Emir*.

I look'd upon myself to be now no longer in a State of Freedom, I considered these *Arabs* as Guards, I fancied that *Morat* looked exceedingly melancholy, and on the whole, I felt greater Pain and Disquiet than I had ever known in my Life. I began to revolve in my Mind, that vast variety of Events, which tho' a young Man I had seen; I blamed my fond Credulity which had induced me to run such real Hazards on chimerical Prospects. I saw all Things now in new Lights, I wondered how I so easily quitted my own Country, I stood amazed at my having shunned the Converse of *English* Merchants; I accused myself of a thousand Follies, of which till now I had never thought myself guilty, and I made innumerable Vows of Amendment, and of returning to a settled Course of Life, in Case Providence should please to deliver me from this Gulph of Affliction. This Thought suddenly raised me, I began to conceive the State I was in, a kind of Warning from Heaven to quit this rambling sort of Life, and to

return

return to the Performance of those Duties incumbent upon me, as a reasonable Creature and a Christian; with this Hope I comforted myself, and recollecting my Spirits as well as I could, I began to enquire of *Mor-rat* how he did, and how long he thought it would be before we should reach *Cairo*, he said he could not tell, but that he believed it would not be many Days, and that the Voyage would be very pleasant; he looked too as if he had recovered his former Chearfulness, and perhaps he had never lost it, except in my Imagination. The Patron of the Vessel was extremely courteous, as well as very careful of us; we lodged every Night on Shore, but as I apprehended, that the *Arabs* and the Master of the Vessel had a strict Eye over us, I walked very little abroad, which hindered me from viewing abundance of Curiosities, that otherwise in the Course of this Voyage, I might have seen. I took Notice, however, the second Day of our Voyage, of a Marble Column on our Right Hand, exactly like that of *Pompey*, near *Alexandria*, though I think not quite so high.

WHEN our *Arabians* became a little acquainted with us, they entertained us with the usual Topic's, viz. Romantic Relations of the Adventures of antient Heroes, and wonderful Histories of Treasures buried in Mountains, Castles erected by Art Magic, and *Talismans* capable of performing more stupendous Miracles than ever entered into any Legend. They delivered all they said with a Gravity, which shewed that they believed themselves all that they desired others to credit, and I who had profited much by *Hassan's* Admonition, suffer'd these Stories to amuse my Melancholy, and to divert

the Passage, which exceedingly delighted the *Arabs*, who love to be listened too, and treated with Confidence, which notwithstanding the Stories that are told of them, I think they very rarely abuse.

I AM the rather inclined to this Opinion, because that I know their *Emirs* and *Princes* chastise with the utmost Severity, such as injure any who are going to or coming from them, and have thereby put themselves upon their Faith. It is true, that they are extremely poor, which makes them thievish; but if you give them a Trifle, and treat them kindly, and like Friends, they will not wrong you; but on the contrary, serve you with great Fidelity, and exert themselves to the utmost in your Defence. When we were fallen down the *Nile* within a Days Sail or less of *Cairo*, we landed at a Village called *Safi*, where we hired four Camels, and having put the Baggage upon one, the *Arab* who owned the Camels, *Morat* and myself, on the other two set out by Land for *Cairo*, by the Direction of the *Arabs* whom the *Emir* had left with us; and we entered on the same Side of the City, from whence we set out for *Suez*.

It is impossible to express the Joy which Mr. *Perez* and *Antonio* testified on my Arrival. They had sent to *Suez*, and were informed, that my Curiosity had tempted me to make an Excursion into the upper *Egypt*, where they took it for certain, that some Misfortune had befallen me. I had not been at Home long before *Hassan* sent me a Message, desiring that I would repose myself for a Day or two before I visited him. This was to me quite unintelligible; however I was constrained to be silent, as well as to bear with Patience the great Loss that I had sustained.

DURING

DURING this Space, Mr. *Perez* diverted me with the Recital of what had passed in my Absence, and also presented me with a long Letter from Dr. *Salviati*, in which among other Things there was a Query as to the Uses that might be made in Chemistry of the Practice at *Cairo* of hatching Eggs in Ovens. Having considered this attentively, I began to apprehend, that very possibly the Experiments I made of Mr. *Pucci's* Secret would have succeeded better if such Ovens as these had been used. Upon this, I began to enquire very particularly into this Method of hatching Chickens, as also whether it was practicable to erect them in a private House, which I was told it was not. Then I desired to be informed if a Pot well luted might be suffer'd to stand in these Ovens for a certain Time, without Danger of its being opened, and being satisfied on this Head, I took two very foul Emeralds, and that which had been partly cleansed before, and having properly secured them, sent them to be placed in the Oven for nine Days.

THE Day after I went to wait on my Patron *Haj-san* according to his Appointment, he received me with all the Marks of Friendship possible, and before I had been with him twenty Minutes, produced to me the *Bey's* Packet, with the Seals untouched. He told me at the same Time, that the *Bashaw* having sent a *Chiaux* to *Mehemed Bey* while I was at his Palace, that Lord was apprehensive, that upon some Intelligence given, I might be seized in my Return to *Cairo*, which would have been fatal to them all ; he therefore dispatch'd his Nephew the *Emir*, with an Answer to the *Bashaw's* Demands, and knowing that he would not be suspec-

ted or searched, gave him Directions to take a certain Packet from me, and deliver it when Opportunity serv'd to *Hassan*.

WE immediately broke open the Seals, took out the Bag, and divided the Emeralds according to the written Directions of the *Bey*. *Hassan* was not a little surprized at the Choice I had made of imperfect Stones, which as he rightly observed, were from their Size above the Purchase of unskilful Judges, and from their Quality unfit for those who had Skill. I admitted what he said to be true, and could defend myself only by saying, that my Money would hold out no farther. My Patron observed, that he had forbid *Morat* to enter his House, and had sent to hinder my visiting him till such Time as the *Emir* was returned, lest on our Meeting such Civilities might pass as might possibly beget Suspicion, in which I confess he acted very reasonably. Two Days afterwards he set out for *Rosetta*, from whence in a few Weeks he transported himself and his Family to *Algiers*, having before disposed of his House and Gardens to the *Turkish Aga*, who on that Account winked at his Departure, and sent no Advices to the Bashaw till his Friend was out of Danger.

AT the End of the appointed Time I sent for my Pot from the Oven, and found, upon Inspection, that a thin Stone was crack'd quite thorough; another thicker one was much mended in its Colour; but as for the large Stone I bought of the Jew at *Alexandria*, and had made an unsuccessful Attempt to rectify before, it was as fine, as clear, and as perfect as I could wish. Having considered this Matter attentively, and compared all the Circumstances

cumstances together, which from Experience I knew of this Matter, I fell upon a new Method, which I executed as well as projected, and by the Means of three Lamps of different Wicks which I kept continually burning, under three Vessels of Water, the first of which supply'd the second, and the second the third, with boiling Water, continually, the first only being fill'd up as Occasion required with hot Water, I effected the whole Process to my great Satisfaction, and, by adjusting the Time to the Thickness of the Stones, came by degrees to an unhop'd for Certainty, which soon furnished me with Emeralds superior to most that had been seen in *Europe*.

As these Things took up much Time, and required almost a continual Attendance, I had all the Leisure in the World to methodize and review my Papers, to perfect my Observations, to raise new Heads of Enquiry, and to satisfy myself as to many Things about which our best Authors contradict each other, or else pass over in Silence, because they wanted either the Will or the Opportunity of being thoroughly informed about them. That I might with greater Conveniency thus employ my Time, I mentioned to Mr. *Perez* the Papers relating to *Ethiopia*, which I had brought from *Suez*, and he pressing earnestly to see 'em, I promised to gratify his Curiosity as soon as I could transcribe and digest 'em, which afforded me a fair Excuse for being much in my own Apartment, where, at the same Time, I carried on this, and Business of greater Importance.

BUT as Diversity of Studies relieve each other, so I thought proper to join to this Historical Treatise the collecting such Secrets and Receipts as I had received, either from my Friends, or had transcribed from Books
since

since my Arrival in *Egypt*. I communicated also this Design to Mr. *Perez*, and received his kind Assistance therein, he having been no less assiduous than I in the Search of such Curiosities; for Curiosities they might properly be called, since they served rather to amuse, than to instruct, and were rather ingenious than useful. To these I added his and my own Observations, as to their Success, want of Success, their Reasonableness, or Improbability; the Causes of their failing, the most proper Remedies for those Causes, and whatever else could contribute to make a Collection of this Sort so far beneficial as to prevent an unnecessary Waste of Time in fruitless Experiments.

WHEN these were finished, I drew up a succinct Description of *Egypt*, which I thought might be best done upon the Spot, where all that was said might fall under the Eye of competent and impartial Judges, where Errors might be easily rectified, Deficiencies properly supply'd, and all Grounds of Doubtfulness or Suspicion removed. This too, by a steady Application, was quickly perfected, revised, corrected, and put into its last Dress. It happened that the Discourse on the *Ethiopian* Empire, and the Description of *Egypt*, were in my Hands when we left *Cairo*; so that these I have preserved.

BUT as to the Collection of Receipts, and five small Treatises on the *Oriental Philosophy*, *Alchymy*, the *Christian Religion*, so far as its Truth is acknowledg'd by *Mohammedans*; the *Veracity* of *Oriental Historians*, and the true Principles of the *Religion* of the *Indians*, I had delivered them to Mr. *Perez*, who desired to transcribe them, by which Means they were lost to me. The *Historical*
Pieces,

Pieces, as they have an intimate Relation to these *Memoirs*, follow here as in their proper Place.



A RELATION of the PRESENT STATE of
ETHIOPIA. By a French Surgeon.

IT was not Choice, flowing from an avaricious Desire of possessing Part of those immense Riches which the *Portuguese* every where give out to abound in *Ethiopia*, that drew me thither. I had the Misfortune to be taken by a Crew of Pirates in the *West-Indies*, Part of whom, after having for seven Years committed incredible Ravages in those Parts, sailed for the *Red-Sea*, at the Persuasion of a Person who had been Servant to the Governor of *Barbadoes*, and had heard it frequently said at his Master's Table, that Privateers in those Seas might easily possess themselves of immense Wealth, an Argument of all others most prevalent with this kind of People.

THEY were very lucky on their first coming on the Coasts of *Arabia*, but they had not taken many Prizes before they were alarmed with a Story of an *Arabian* King's fitting out a great Fleet, on purpose to take them. This induced the Captain of our Ship, for there were three in all, to stand over to the *Ethiopian* Shore, where he put into the Port of *Arkiko*, and sent me, with three Men in the Boat, to desire Leave of the Governor to trade with the People.

WE were no sooner on shore than we were sent to Prison, and the Captain, the next Day, fairly sailed away

away without us, a Thing I did not at that Time much regret, being heartily weary of living among such a wicked Race of People. I regretted it the less, because I was immediately set at Liberty, and left to do with myself what I thought fit. The three Men who came on Shore with me engaged themselves in the *Turkish* Service as Mariners, and I suffered myself to be persuaded by some *Jewish* Merchants to go with them into *Ethiopia*, on a Promise that they would carry me the next Year into *Egypt*, with a Caravan; in which they deceived me, and not contented therewith, treated me very harshly, forcing me to exercise my Profession as a Surgeon, and taking to themselves whatever Presents the People sent.

AFTER this Manner they dragg'd me quite cross the Empire of *Ethiopia*, from the *Red-Sea* to the Sea of *Dambea*, which is no other than a very great Lake, through which the *Nile* passes, and lies in the West Part of *Ethiopia*. Here I got released, and was kindly entertained by many of the People who had been formerly converted by the *Portuguese* Fathers, and do still retain a great Veneration for them, and on their Account for all Catholics. I then traversed this great Lake, and turning next to the South, entered the Kingdom of *Gojam*, where in two Days Journey I passed from the River *Nile*, where it was large and rapid, and had run at least three hundred Miles, to its Source, the River forming the Figure of an *Italick O*, the Top of which is open, and represents the near Approach of the winding Body of the River to its Fountains after so long a Course, whereby the Kingdom of *Gojam* is made a perfect Peninsula,

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the Isthmus contained between the two Branches of the *Nile* being not above 20 Miles broad.

I RESIDED near 20 Years at *Axazo*, the Capital of this Kingdom, 'till being seized with a strong Passion of returning into *Europe*, I travelled first due East, to the famous Fortrefs of *Ambasel*, and then directly North to *Axuma*, which is generally esteemed the Capital of *Ethiopia*, from whence, after three Years Stay, I found Means to get to *Suez*, where I wrote this Account, having traversed the greatest Part of that Country, which makes such a Noise in *Europe*, and which is really the most different in the World, from what it hath been represented.

THIS Country is by some call'd the *Higher Ethiopia*, but I think more commonly *Abyssinia*, which Word is derived from the Name given to their own Country in their own Language, by the Inhabitants of this Empire, viz. *Habesh*; but whence that is derived, or what it signifies, I know not; and perhaps some who affect to deal in Etymologies, know as little as I. As to the Extent of this Empire, it was formerly much greater than it now is, and at present its Bounds are not easily settled; however, I think that in length, from South to North, it may be near five hundred Miles in Extent; and from the *Red-Sea* to the *Nile*, it may be about two hundred. As it lies from 8 to 17 Degrees of North Latitude, it is plainly in the Torrid Zone, which to me is a Demonstration that the Moderns are not much more exact than the Antients in their Sentiments as to the Effects of the Nearness or Distance of the Sun, since it is certain that *Ethiopia* is not so hot as *Spain*, but of such a Temperature as in the warmest Provinces of the Kingdom I mention

tion the People feel in Spring ; on the Coast, indeed, it is excessive hot in the Summer Months, which are the same as with us in *Europe* ; but in the inland Parts Summer and Winter are reversed, that is to say, the Winter commences in the Middle of *June*, and lasts to the Middle of *September* ; and the Summer commences in *December* and ends in *March*. I am well informed, that on the other Side of the *Red-Sea*, the Tables are turned again, the Winter on the Coast lasts from *June* to *September* ; and in the inland Parts of *Arabia*, from *November* to *February*.

THE rainy Seasons are indeed equally terrible and troublesome ; for every Day, to a Stranger, appears the last in which this World is to subsist, and yet from three o'Clock in the Afternoon, to Seven, includes the whole of this amazing Scene ; by that Time all is over, and the next Morning breaks with a Serenity the most pleasing that can be imagined ; about Noon the Clouds gather, and at Three Thunder, Lightning, and Rain, spread a Terror and Confusion not to be described. I have often thought from this, and from a hundred other Circumstances, that *Abyssinia* might be stiled the Land of Contradictions. At first Sight this Expression will appear only a Flight of Thought, but it is in Truth a very weighty Observation, since it reconciles at once the opposite Accounts we have from different Authors.

As to the Fertility of this Country, who would not be led to admire it when he is told that there are always two, and sometimes three Harvests, and yet there is no Place on the Globe the Inhabitants of which are so often plagued with Famine. This arises from various Causes. First, there are but here and there Spots of arable Land,
and

and these are not very fertile. Secondly, the Locusts often come and destroy every green Thing with a Fury scarce to be conceived. Thirdly, the Emperor's Soldiers live every where at free Quarters, and consequently spread Want and Penury wherever they come. Fourthly, the Lightnings frequently destroy their Stores; and, lastly, the *Gallas*, and other barbarous People, harrafs the Frontier Provinces continually.

THE Fruits of this Country are very excellent, and might be had in great Plenty if their Constitution encouraged the People to cultivate them; which it is so far from doing, that one can scarce conceive how they are able at all to subsist themselves and their Families. As to all Sorts of Herbs and Flowers that are to be found in the *Indies*, they are found here; and besides, there are also some Vulneraries which I believe are peculiar to this Soil. It would require much Time, and more Knowledge than I am Master of, to describe all the Curiosities in this Country; which I am the less capable of doing, because I had not any Conveniency of making *Memorandums* on the Spot; so that I write entirely from Memory, with this Caution, however, that I insert nothing but what I certainly remember. In the Number of these Things I reckon these three. First, the Grain call'd *Teff*, the great Bread Corn of this Country, very nutritive and pleasant, and yet ten Grains of it are not larger, taken together, than a Grain of Millet. The *Hansut* Tree, somewhat like a *Palmetto*, its Rind smooth, its Leaves beautifully green, and very thick. This Tree produces nothing, and yet is the most useful and desirable in the Country. Its Leaves, when dry, rub into a pleasant wholesome Meal; the Tree itself, cut down,

down, sliced into convenient Pieces, and boiled in Milk, tastes exactly like a Millet Pudding; and from its Root there starts out numberless young Sprigs, which quickly grow to a considerable Size. The third Curiosity is the Herb *Azazo*, the most noble Alexipharmic in the Universe; the very Smell of it is said to benumn the most dangerous Sort of Vipers. A little of the Powder taken inwardly, never fails to cure their Bites; and it is certain that those who have lately taken it pass boldly through Places infested by Serpents, without Fear of being bitten, the Effluvia from their Bodies making those Creatures sick. Oranges, Lemons, Figs and Sugar-Canes, are found in various Provinces of *Abyssinia*.

GOLD, I believe there is none in the whole Empire, notwithstanding what so many have boldly asserted; what they have comes to them from the West; but as for Iron and Lead, they have both in Plenty. On the Coasts of the *Red-Sea* they have a Sort of *Sal gemma*, or Rock Salt, which they cut out into Pieces like Bricks, and these are the current Money, or rather Measure of Exchange throughout the Empire, but with great Variation in their Value, for on the Sea Coast sixty of them are equal to a Sequin, whereas in other Parts a Sequin will fetch but five, nay, but three. Mountains are very frequent, and in some Places there are Rocks shoot up like Pillars, which serve for Fortresses, and are impregnable in their Nature; these are stiled *Amba's*. There are also Chains of Mountains running this Way and that, affording very narrow Passages from one Province to another, and lying in some Places so as to oblige the Travellers to pass over them, which cannot be performed but with great Trouble and Danger. Besides the *Nile*,
of

of which I shall speak afterwards, there are many very considerable Rivers in *Abyssinia*, some of which as the *Maleg* fall into the *Nile*. Others, as the *Lebea*, after a long Course, roll into the Sea. And a third Sort again, as the *Hahobax*, little inferior to the *Nile*, after watering for many hundred Miles a barren Country, roll at last into more barren Sands, and are there drunk up and lost.

THE Animals in *Ethiopia* are of all Sorts, as well such as are found in *Europe* as in *Asia* and *Africk*, but they have especially Plenty of three Kinds. First, of excellent Horses. Secondly, of beautiful and serviceable Mules. Thirdly, a prodigious Quantity of black Cattle, in which the chief Riches of the People consist. As to wild Beasts, there are too many of them; for I think there is scarce any Species of which this Country hath not its Share. Elephants there are in vast Numbers, so that one sometimes meets a hundred of them in a Herd on the Road; yet have they no Notion of taming them, or of making any other Use of them than that of selling their Teeth. They have likewise Lions of various Kinds, some very strong and high mettled, not less than nine, though some say twelve, Feet in Length: They are very terrible to the Sight; nor is it to be conceived with what Fright all Animals fly at the first hearing of their Roar. There is likewise in this Country the *Giraff*, an Animal capable of striking with Wonder the most inquisitive Spectator. It most of all resembles a Camel in its Form, but vastly exceeds it in Size, since it is bigger than an Elephant, but its Limbs are very slender, and it makes a very odd Figure.

THE Birds of *Ethiopia* are very numerous ; and besides those common to *Europe*, and the *Indies*, there are many peculiar to this Country, which I think needless to describe ; I shall therefore content myself with observing, that their Ducks are larger, fatter, and better tasted than those in *Europe* ; their Partridges as high tasted as ours, and of the Size of Capons. River Fish they have, but not in very great abundance ; neither have I seen any that merit a particular Description. I come now to speak of the People.

THE Inhabitants of *Abyssinia* are composed of Christians, Jews, and Mohammedans ; of these I think the two last make a Third. The *Abyssines* themselves are *Christians* ; the Men and Women are generally well made, middle-fiz'd People, of a beautiful Tawney, with long curled Hair, of which they are very careful. They are without all question, in their own Natures, the most harmless, docile People in the World, pious to Excess, and charitable to a Fault, whatever our Missionaries may think fit to say. As to their Religion, it is indeed a very odd Mixture, the *Jews*, *Pagans*, *Mohammedans*, *Christians*, all circumsise, either from a Principle of Religion, or to avoid Reproach. It is certain, that before the *Abyssines* were converted to Christianity, they were *Jews* ; and it is as certain that they still retain a Mixture of *Judaism* in their Religious Customs. As to their heretical Notions, they are chiefly such as flow from the *Euty-chian* Heresy. Our Missionaries magnify them excessively, and yet they are more solicitous to introduce Submission to the *Papal See*, than to set them right in any other Point ; and yet a Man of any ordinary Understanding cannot fail, on a short Acquaintance with these People,

People, to discover that this is the last Point to be touch-
ed upon, as Experience hath shewn; that continually
insisting upon it, hitherto hath kept the Catholick Reli-
gion out of *Ethiopia*, and has even made it odious there,
insomuch that the Bulk of the People would rather em-
brace *Mohammedism*.

THE *Abyssines* worship God with great Devotion ;
and there are amongst them such a Multitude of Churches,
that one is always within Sight of another ; and there
are frequently several within Sight of each other. The
Clergy are meek innocent People ; and all the Monks
labour with their Hands for their Subsistence. They fast
very rigorously, tasting neither Meat nor Drink 'till Even-
ing ; and they give to those that ask them whatever they
ask ; and therefore it is no Wonder that *Ethiopia* is over
burden'd with Beggars. In Marriage only their Morals
are irregular, inasmuch as they retain the *Jewish* Custom
of divorcing upon the slightest Occasions, the Man and
Woman marrying again where they please. On this
Head it is very remarkable, that a Husband frequently
pardons Adultery, but if his Wife scolds he divorces her
without Mercy. The Missionaries, while they were in
this Country, took a great deal of Pains to rectify this
Abuse ; and it must be acknowledg'd, to the Honour of
the *Portuguese* Fathers, that as many of them died Mar-
tyrs, and 'as all of them lived Confessors, so they main-
tain'd an Apostolick Purity in their Conduct, and have,
since their Deaths, been revered as Saints, notwith-
standing the Aversion the People have for the Catholick
Religion, founded solely on the Apprehensions they have
of the Pope's Supremacy, which they call a bare-faced

Usurpation, inconsistent with their ecclesiastical and civil Rights.

As to the Government of *Ethiopia*, it is as every Thing in this Country is, full of Contradictions. The Emperor stiles himself *King of Kings*, boasts sometimes of numberless Provinces under his Subjection, asserts his sole Property in the Soil of *Abyssinia*, which is acknowledged by his Subjects, who are all Tenants at Will, and are frequently dispossessed. As there is no Money in his Dominions, he takes his Revenue in Kind, the tenth Cow every third Year, the tenth Piece of Cloth from every Weaver, and so in other Things. Yet this Monarch is very far from being absolute, for the great Men frequently prescribe Laws to him, and the Loyalty of his Subjects hangs very loose about them; so that tho' they acknowledge their Emperor for a despotic Prince, yet it is with this Salvo, that when he does not please them, he shall be no longer their Emperor. After this Account, I need scarce add that the People are very poor and miserable, since it is plain a Civil War makes all People so; and ten Years is a long Truce in *Ethiopia*, where in Time of Peace the Nation are most abject Slaves. When the Emperor bestows a Government, a Herald proclaims at the Door of the Tent; *His Imperial Majesty hath been pleased to make such a one his Slave, Ruler over such a Province.* And he does the same Thing when he takes a Lady to his Wife. The Phrase then is; *His Majesty hath made such a one his Slave Empress.* In the *Abyssinian* Language a King is call'd *Negus*. Their Monarch they stile *Negus Negasta*, which is as much as to say, *King of Kings*. Formerly the *Abyssinian* Monarchs made use of two Ministers to transact all publick Affairs, being

being themselves scarce ever seen by their Subjects. These Ministers were stiled *Betudets*, and were in fact *Mayors* of the *Palace*, or in other Words, *Kings*, while the Emperor, with all his Titles, was but a Cypher; but within these hundred Years the Emperors have condescended to be Men, and, in consequence thereof, have resumed their Authority. The Prime Minister, when there is one, is stiled *Raz*, and his Office is much the same with that of the Vizir *Azem* at the *Porte*. I have read in some *Portuguese* Voyages, that the *Ethiopian* Monarchs live very meanly. This I can disprove, tho' I never saw the Emperor, because his chief Lords are very richly dressed in Velvet Jackets, and Surtouts of Brocade: But I shall readily agree that they are the only well-cloath'd People in the Empire. The Governor of a Province is stiled *Xumo*, or rather *Chumo*, for so they pronounce it. And they have abundance of other Officers in the Nature of Intendants and Lieutenants for the King.

T H E R E are abundance of Princes dependent on the *Abyssinian* Empire, who, as far as outward Marks of Respect will go, confess this Dependence, and perhaps send considerable Presents; but as for Obedience, that's not to be expected, unless some *Abyssinian* Monarch should arise of an enterprizing, and at the same time of a regular Genius, who after new modelling his own Empire, should turn his Arms upon his Neighbours; for in this Case he would undoubtedly restore the ancient Glory of the *Abyssinian* Name, since these People are naturally good Soldiers, brave, obedient, patient of Fatigue, and very capable of Discipline, if they had Officers who knew how to instruct them; their Horse are

naturally very good, and might be managed so as to become the very best in the World, as they have the Speed of the *Arabian* Coursers, and the Strength and Fierceness of our Horses in *Europe*. As it is the first Shock determines a Battle, and tho' personally the *Abyssines* have as much Valour as any People in the World, yet in pitched Battles they are easily defeated ; for if their General be kill'd, if Artillery be brought to play upon them, if they are attack'd in Flank, a Pannick presently takes them, and they run all away ; nor is it possible to bring them together again by Promises or Threats. The Emperor moves about with a flying Army, under the Name of Guards, and seldom, if ever, resides any where but in a Camp, which is the Reason that there are no great Towns, much less Cities, in *Ethiopia*, but Villages are thick ; in some Places they almost touch each other ; so that the whole Country is a straggling Hamlet.

THEIR Houses are no better than Cabbins, and their Furniture a low Table, a few Mats, and a Hide to sleep on. As for Plates and Dishes, none but Persons of Distinction have any, and they are a kind of black earthen Ware. The ordinary People make a Sort of broad thin Cakes, which they bake in such a Manner as to leave them very tough ; these they lay upon the Table, clap their Meat upon them, also use them to wipe their Fingers, after which their Slaves, or their Women, eat them ; and in every other Respect they are alike nice, that is, not at all so. The grand Dainty in *Abyssinia* is raw Beef, of which they lay a whole Quarter upon the Table hot, as it is cut from the Creature, with a Bladder or earthen Cup full of the Gall ; this they mix with Pepper and Salt, and dipping the Flesh into it, eat it
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with all the Greediness of *Tartars*. They likewise make a kind of Mustard by mixing with Salt and Pepper the Chile which they find in the Stomach of the Beast when it is kill'd; and this they properly enough stile a Rarity, because a Quantity of Pepper, sufficient to make it, is seldom to be had. Though it may be concluded from this Account, that the *Abyssines* live but indifferently, yet it must not be imagined that Strangers are in Danger of wanting amongst them; on the contrary, they are better provided for here than perhaps in any other Country in the World, as well in Right of the Laws, as from the charitable Disposition of the People. As soon as a Traveller comes to any Village, he looks about for the best and most convenient Hut or House therein, into which he instantly enters, and is there as much at his Ease as if it were his Brother's. The Master presently sends to his Neighbours to inform them that he has a Guest, whereupon they bring him whatever may contribute to the Stranger's Refreshment, and are sure to satisfy all his Demands, because, if he should complain, the Governor of the Province would mulct them in twice as much: However, there is rarely any Instance of Complaints of this Sort, the *Abyssines* having a natural Generosity, especially towards Passengers.

I HAVE said that this is a Country of Contradictions, and so it is in the Character of its Inhabitants. They are naturally honest, beneficent, and inclined to live peaceably, yet are they involved in continual Wars, either against their Neighbours, or amongst themselves; Treason and Rebellion being as natural to that Country as Rain or Sun-shine, and almost as frequent. For this, two Reasons may be assigned. First, the Corruption

of their Grandees, which is as excessive as in *Europe*; all the Grandees being quite another Race of People, void of that Probity, Humanity, and peaceable Disposition visible in the rest of the Nation. To be sure it is not the Air of the Court, or their seeing the Emperor daily, that so strangely changes these People, I believe rather it is the Nature of the Life they lead; for being as they are called from all Attention to their private Affairs, in order to take Care of those of the Publick, they set no Bounds either to their Desires, or to their Expences, at the same Time that they expect the Publick should pay for all. Their Hopes and Fears also being much stronger, and more powerful than those of meaner Men. They engage in Frauds, Conspiracies, or Rebellions, to gratify these, or to secure themselves from those. Hence the Corruption of the Great is here as well as elsewhere, the prime Cause of Disorder in the State. But Secondly, these Grandees, by the Constitution of the *Abyssinian* Monarchy are possessed of too great an Authority, and also of too great an Influence over those they govern. Hence it comes to pass, that a discontented Governor hath it frequently in his Power to engage the People in Support of his private Interests, by specious Pretences of Zeal for the *Publick Service*. The Clergy also, who are about the Court, loose that Sanctity of Heart, and Purity of Manners, which is the Ornament of their Order, and acquiring in their stead a spiritual Pride, and a boundless Lust of Power. They use their Characters, because sacred, to cover those Crimes which are too black for publick View; whence it happens, that the *Abuna* or Patriarch of *Ethiopia* is often at the Head of a Conspiracy, and
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has sometimes drawn together 50 or 60,000 *Monks* to abet his personal Quarrel, under Colour of supporting the *Abyssinian* Religion. Thus between the Priests, who name every Scuffle for their private Views a Contention *pro Aris*, and the Governors, who when they are in Danger of being removed, fright the People into a Rebellion *pro Focis*, the honestest Folks in the World yearly cut one anothers Throats for the Gratification of those who deserve to have their own cut according to Law.

I have been led to these Observations from the Remembrance of one and twenty Rebellions in fifteen Years, not one of which was occasioned by any ill Conduct of their Princes, but meerly through the Villainy of the Grandees, and the Ignorance of the common People. This Account explains a Maxim in the *Abyssinian* Polity, which can be explained no other Way, I mean that scrupulous Obstinacy with which they persist in shutting all Strangers out of the Empire. The Grandees know from Reason, and from Experience of former Times, when the *Portuguese* had footing in this Country, that the *Abyssinian* Emperors would emancipate themselves from that Bondage in which they hold them, if they could have the Assistance of any Foreign Prince, only so far as to secure their Persons, which by Reason of the Artifices of their great Officers and their Clergy, are never in Safety while guarded by their own Subjects. This Maxim, either by false colouring, the great ones deceive their Sovereigns into a good Opinion of, or else they adhere to it in spite of his Commands, which is easily done in a Country where they have made it the first Article of their political Creed with the People, in Virtue of that inveterate Desire which the Missionaries

sionaries professed, of subjecting the *Abyssines* to the *Pope*, a Thing they feared the more, the less they understood it. They might if they pleased at present, spare a great part of this Trouble, since I am persuaded, that no *European* who enters *Abyssinia* will be very desirous of staying there, or of sending his Countrymen thither, since it is a Place where there is very little to be got. The richest Emperors seldom possess half a Million of Livres, and notwithstanding all that is positively affirmed by our Authors, I am very confident there is no Gold in *Abyssinia*; all that the Emperor receives coming from Regions lying to the South or South West, farther into the Heart of *Africa*. I know that the *Abyssines* themselves do sometimes pretend, that there are very rich Mines of Gold in their Country, but that they conceal them for fear of the *Turks*; yet I am persuaded this is false; for if there were Gold Mines in their Hills, there would be Gold Dust in their Rivers, their tempestuous Autumns especially considered, and yet there is not; Iron and Lead indeed they have, but not in the Plenty that some have reported. Again, if there had been Gold Mines in *Ethiopia*, their ancient Emperors would have been rich; and as the *Abyssines* are naturally vain, they would surely have left us some Marks of their Magnificence; whereas there is neither City nor Palace in all *Abyssinia*. I do indeed believe, that a Thousand Years ago there might have been Cities and Palaces both; but then the Emperors had not only those Countries I spoke of under their Dominion, but a great Part of *Arabia* also, of which they were dispossessed a little before the Birth of *Mohammed*, as their Historians say. This therefore proves nothing as to the Gold of *Abyssinia*,

Abyssinia, and as to the *Asiatic Ethiopia*, or of the *interior Ethiopia* in *Africk*, I believe that it abounds in both Countries, and to them therefore the *Europeans* must go who would fetch it, and not into *Abyssinia*.

As our Writers generally deceive us, in respect to the Riches of this Country, so they deceive us not less in what they say of the Poverty of its Inhabitants, taking that Word in a moral Sense; for the *Abyssines* are so far from being stupid or indocil, that they are in Truth a very quick witted and tractable People, excepting only in some Points which concern their Civil and Religious Rites, wherein they conceive it to be the Interest of all Strangers to mislead them. As to Learning, without question there is not much of it in *Abyssinia*, yet are its Inhabitants not absolutely deficient in this Point. They have a good Version of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament in their own Tongue; a large Collection of the Works of the Fathers of the Primitive Church, in which it is said there are none of the Errors of the *Eutychians*, or *Nestorians*; a Modern Body of Divinity, which is full of them; several Volumes of the Lives of the Saints; many Treatises on Monastic Life; several Histories of *Ethiopia*, of which I saw two, one that might have made ten Volumes in Folio, the other about half as big. The *Psalter* of *David* is the Book most common amongst them, and many of their *Monks* can repeat forty, fifty, nay a hundred Psalms. Their Books of History are written in a flowery figurative Stile, which however is far from being inelegant or unentertaining. On the contrary, *David Gomez*, who was a kind of Engineer in the Kingdom of *Dambea*, shewed me the beginning of

a History which he had translated into *Portuguez*, which would have been read with great Applause in *Europe*; where if the *Ethiopian* Writings are disliked and disesteemed, it is because they are not properly translated; for the figurative Language of one Country ought not to be rendered into the literal, but into the figurative Language of another Country, and read with a proper Allowance for the Genius of the People from whose Tongue the Version is made. It is very true, that the *Monks* for the Generality are very unlearned; but it is also true, that they live very inoffensively, and I am likewise certain, that some of them are well acquainted with all the Learning they have. However it must be acknowledged, that the *Grandeess*, the great Officers at Court, and Governors of Provinces, are Men the best versed in History, a Study in which most of them very much delight, and on this Account they have always about them some who addict themselves to this kind of Literature, and compose Memoirs of what passes in their own Times, which they dedicate to their Patrons.

In common Conversation the People are very complacent and communicative, nay, what is still more extraordinary, the Inhabitants of the Kingdom of *Narea*, which lies the farthest from the *Red-Sea*, and consequently from all Correspondence with our part of the World, are by far the most polite People in *Abyssinia*; nay the very Respect paid by their King to the Emperor, is the pure Effect of Politeness, since the *Abyssinian* Monarch is in no Condition of exacting such Marks of Homage, if the King of *Narea* should refuse them. *Abyssinia* is not only vexed by very potent and cruel Neighbours,

Neighbours, differing from its Inhabitants in Religion, but there are also in its Bowels many Colonies of these their Adversaries, who give them not a Grain the less Trouble for being their near Neighbours. Of these I shall speak in their Order. First then, the *Moors* or *Mohammedans* are possessed of almost all the *East Coast* of *Abyssinia*, for the King of *Dancali*, and the King of *Adel*, with all their Subjects, are *Mohammedans*; and on the *West Side*, the King of *Sennar*, and the People on the other Side of the River *Melec*, are most of them *Mohammedans* also. Formerly the *Moors* from *Adel* came in like a Torrent, and conquered a great part of *Abyssinia*; but they were quickly driven out again, as indeed most of its Conquerors have been; for as soon as the *Abyssines* perceive that they are not able to meet their Enemies in the Field, they retire to their *Ambas*, or inaccessible Mountains, and leave the Conquerors to burn and plunder as they think fit. Then as soon as it is perceived that their Martial Ardour is abated, that they are excessively fatigued and over loaden with Prey, the *Abyssines* begin to assemble, and falling upon them from all Quarters, oblige them at least to quit their Country, if not to leave their Booty behind them.

SUCH of the *Moors* as are settled in *Abyssinia*, are an industrious harmless People, and seem better disposed to cultivate the Earth, and to improve the Places where they dwell than the *Abyssines*. As for the *Jews* I am at a Loss what to say of them; for if we consider the several sorts of them who live in and round *Abyssinia*, and the Custom of the *Abyssines* themselves, to observe the Sabbath strictly, to circumcise on the eighth Day, to use the Levitical Purifications, to abstain from forbidden Meats,

Meats, to send away their Wives on every slight Occasion with a Bill of Divorce, and to boast as they do, that their Monarch is the *Lion* of the Tribe of *Judah*; I say when one considers all this, one might be tempted to say they are all *Jews*. But to avoid giving Offence, after separating the *Abyssines*, who are a kind of Christian *Jews*, the remainder may be divided into *Jews*, properly so called, and into those who are *Jews* only by Descent. Of the first there are great Numbers in the Kingdom of *Dambea*; these were formerly very troublesome, pretending to live in an independent manner, without yielding either Tribute or Submission to the *Abyssinian* Emperors. These Princes for a Time wink'd at this, till an Opportunity serv'd for reducing them, against which, tho' to no Purpose, the *Jews* made a vigorous Resistance. Since then, many of them are turned Christians, and incorporated with the *Abyssines*; but the remainder of them now very numerous, are the most industrious Mechanics and Traders in the *Abyssinian* Empire. On the very Borders of this Country, on the other Side of the *Nile*, and among the barbarous People, there are many independent Colonies of *Jews*, of whose Government and manner of living very little Account can be given, except that they have the Scriptures of the old Testament in *Hebrew*, speak themselves that Language corruptly, and most bitterly hate the Christians.

As to those who are *Jews* only by Descent, they are the famous Nation of the *Gaus*, *Gallas* or *Cballas*, which last I take to be their true Name, at least so themselves pronounce it. It signifies white Men, and yet these People are black. However that they were once white is plain enough, for they have most of
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them *Roman* Noses, thin Lips, and comely Features. They are tall, robust, well limb'd Men, very brave, but withal very cruel, and most abominable Thieves. It is not above an hundred Years that they have vexed the *Abyssinian* Empire, or indeed that they were ever heard of there ; but in all probability it will be at least another hundred Years before the *Abyssinians* get fairly rid of them, for they are now settled up and down all the West Borders of the Empire. They live like the ancient Patriarchs, on the Product of their Herds and Flocks, never cultivating any Land, or Building any Thing more than Cabbins to cover them from the Weather. They worship one God, circumsise, and vehemently abhor Idolatry ; but as for any other religious Tenets, it does not appear what they hold. When their Children are young, their Fathers regard them no more than Dogs ; but when they are grown big enough to hunt, and to fight, then they treat them with all imaginable Kindness and Affection. These People are most justly accounted the most dangerous Enemies in the World ; in offensive Wars they are generally Victorious, and when they act on the diffensive are always so. When they fight they either conquer or die ; when they are attacked by a superior Force, they drive away their Cattel, and retire so quick, that their Pursuers are quickly involved in their inhospitable Country, where there is neither House, plow'd Field, or any Thing which can furnish Subsistence ; so that there is a Necessity of retiring *Re infecta* ; and it is well if these People do not incommode their Retreat. Their Armies are composed of Horse and Foot, the former are the more numerous, but the latter are the better Troops.

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They are divided into several Tribes, some say seven, others nine ; but I believe that Point to be uncertain ; they are governed by a single Magistrate, whom they stile *Luso*, he has the Authority of a limited Monarch, acting nothing but by the Consent of his Council. In Point of Promises, Treaties, or Agreements, these People are the most punctual in the World ; when they make any it is with a great deal of Pomp and Ceremony, and they are never known to break them, or to deceive those who trust them. Such of their Children as have been left in *Abyssinia* in their sudden Retreats, and have been bred up there, prove strong, industrious, and beautiful Persons, and when thoroughly instructed in the Christian Religion, are wonderfully pious, and much more constant than the *Abyssines*, readily braving Death, rather than abjure their Faith. About the Year 1648, these People broke at once in six or seven Places into *Abyssinia*, ravaging from South to North, and from West to East, killing and destroying without Mercy all that came in their Way, presuming so far, as to invest the *Turkish* Fortrefs over-against the Isle of *Suakem* ; but some Pieces of Cannon being discharged upon them, they retired from thence, and in about nine Months Space withdrew into their old Quarters. Since then they have made two other great Irruptions, and are continually making small Incurfions ; but in these they are content to plunder without doing any Body any Hurt, unless they find them with Arms in their Hands. While I wandered about in this Country, my Profession made me every where welcome ; and if the Inhabitants had been rich, I should doubtless have brought something considerable from thence. As it was, I collected

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ted in *Abyssinia*, chiefly in the South West Parts, eleven Ounces of Gold in Grains, three Topazes, one Emerald, and five greenish colour'd Stones transparent, hard, and beautiful; but what they are call'd I know not. Here ends this Relation, excepting what the Author says of the River of *Nile*, which I have inserted in another Place, for the Sake of uniting my own Observations with his, that the History of that noble River might not be broken or interrupted.



A DESCRIPTION of *EGYPT*, &c.

THE ordinary Custom of Travellers in mixing their Geographical, Philosophical, and Historical Remarks on Countries with the Thread of their Narratives, having often given me a great deal of Trouble in the perusal of their Works, I therefore determined to essay another Method, which in Idea, at least, seem'd more distinct and intelligible; and this gave Birth to the ensuing Picture of the Country of *Egypt*, its Produce and Inhabitants, wherein I have studied to digest Things as naturally as I could, that their Connection might render them reciprocally clear, and the whole appear a Body of tollerable Symmetry, and not with such Ricketty and unproportionable Limbs as I have sometimes seen in Things of this Nature.

EGYPT then is in Scripture called either *Mizraim*, or the Land of *Cham*. The *Copti*, or natural Inhabitants

habitants of the Country call it *Maffr* or *Chemi*, the *Turks* *Missar*. These are all in Effect one Name, and seem an evident Demonstration of the Veracity of the *Mosaic* Writings. As to the Name of *Egypt*, which with some difference in the Orthography, is the Appellation this Country is known by in our Western parts, it is derived from the Story or Fable of the *Greeks* concerning *Egyptus*. But to pass from Names to Things.

E G Y P T stretches itself from the 22 deg. to the 31 deg. of North Latitude, being bounded on the East by the *Isthmus* of *Suez*, a mountainous Country, which divides it from that part of *Arabia* lying between it and *Judea*. I say, it is bounded on this Side by these Mountains, and by the *Red-Sea*, which washes all its Coast up to its Southern Boundaries, which are the frontier Kingdoms of the *Abyssinian* Empire, viz. *Fungi* and *Sennaar*; on the West it hath the great Desarts of *Africk*, to which I chuse to give no Name; because the Names we give serve only to confound us. On the North it hath the *Mediterranean* Sea, and we may safely affirm, that there is not a Country in the Universe better situate for Defence than this.

MANY Authors affirm, that the Letter Y affords an easy and accurate Notion of the Form of *Egypt*. At one Point they place the City of *Rosetta*, the City of *Damietta* at the other. *Grand Cairo* at the Junction of these Limbs with the Body of the letter, and the Cataracts of the *Nile* at the Foot of it. To me these Notions seem trivial and puerile, and much more capable of doing Hurt than Good. I grant that this Description suits the *Nile* well enough; but I deny that it gives any tolerable Account of *Egypt*, because the City
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of *Alexandria* lies a great Way on one Side of the *Y*, as the *Isthmus* of *Suez* does on the other. A Chain of Mountains run from South to North, on the East Side of the *Nile*, and another Chain of Mountains run from South to North, on the West. At *Cairo*, these Mountains open and turn off with the two great Branches of the River; those on the East remain still high and arduous Mountains; but those on the West dwindle into sandy Hillocks, and form a kind of Downs. The Plain included between these Ridges, the middle of which is occupied by the *Nile*, is in some Places very narrow, in others as in the Province of *Fium* of considerable Breadth; but it is every where fertile, and well cultivated. The Mountains on the West are the Boundaries of *Egypt*, and have Desarts behind them, but the Mountains of the East are not so, they have behind them a Plain for the most part sandy and uninhabitable, reaching to the Coast of the *Red-Sea*.

THIS Description seems to have little Affinity with those magnificent ones, which are to be met with in ancient Authors; but this I cannot help, I am bound to speak Truth, yet I cannot avoid owning, that I think they spoke Truth too. For tho' it is certain that there is scarce any Proportion between the Number of People which are now in *Egypt*, and the Number reported to have dwelt there formerly, yet it is as certain, that there is as great a Disproportion between the Number of People in other Parts of the *Grand Seignior's* Dominions, and those that are here still. For my own Part, I am fully persuaded, that a very great Proportion of that Part of *Egypt* which is now uninhabitable, was former-

ly not only sprinkled with Cities, but very fruitful and pleasant.

ALL this was occasioned by the Industry of the ancient Inhabitants, and the Wisdom of their Kings, as the present deplorable State of these Places are the Result of the Laziness of the People, and the Folly of their Governors. *A pleasant Land maketh be barren for the Wickedness of those who dwell therein*, saith the inspired Writer, and this is just as true as that God made the World. In another Place it is said, *that God gives Kings in his Wrath, and Governors in his sore Displeasure*. Here is an exact Account of what happens to all Countries, and what must happen to all. A religious and virtuous People, have religious and virtuous Princes, these contrive good Things, and execute them with Spirit; a vicious and degenerate People have Kings given them in Wrath, and they depopulate the Country, and make War on Nature; this makes the Difference between the ancient and modern *Egypt*, as it also does between *Switzerland*, and the *Campania di Roma*.

THE Air of *Egypt*, according to some Writers, is the most foul and unwholesome in the World, in the Judgment of others, the most serene and salubrious. For my own Part, I think them both in the Right, and both in the wrong, as I shall shew by stating this Matter truly. *November, December, and January* are the Winter Months, wherein the *Franks* and the *Turks* wear Garments lined with Furs, believing the Weather to be very cold; in fact however it is not so, but the Disposition of their Bodies makes them have very quick Sensation, as I easily discerned by myself. I arrived in
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the Winter, and thought the Weather very moderate ; but the next Winter I felt it very cold, and yet by my Glafs it appeared that the former Winter had been colder. To the Winter fucceeds a Spring of about fix Weeks, which is very pleasant. About the *Vernal Equinox* the South Winds begin to blow, and they blow more or lefs till the Sun reaches the Tropic of Cancer. The *Arabians* call thefe Winds *Chamsin*, i. e. of *Cambyses* ; becaufe it was by thefe Winds that his Army perished in their *Ethiopian* Expedition ; then it is that *Egyptian* Air is unwholesome. Thefe Winds blow fometimes three, four, or five Days together, and then for a Day or two there is a Breeze from the North ; fometimes they blow for nine, ten, eleven, or twelve Days, and then the Air is peftiferous, and Multitudes die of an Hour's Sicknefs. All this however is uncertain, for fome Years they do very little Mifchief, and in other Years again they do a great deal. This only is certain, that they begin to blow about the Equinox, and that they ceafe blowing on the rifing of the *Nile*, viz. 17th of *June*. Immediately after this, the North and Weft Winds blow constantly Night and Day, and fo temper the Heat of the Climate, that it is far from being either intemperate or unwholesome. This pleasant Season of the Year continues from the middle of *June* till towards the End of *September*, during which Space the Country being overflown, the Inhabitants give themfelves up wholly to Pleafure, to which indeed they are always prone.

THAT *Egypt* on the whole is far from being unwholesome, appears from the Temper of the Natives, from their enjoying almoft a constant State of Health,

unless interrupted by some exterior Accident, or some wrong Management of their own, and by their *Longævity*, there being in this Country Numbers upwards of fourscore, so robust in their Constitutions, as not only to use Women, but to beget Children. The Soil of *Egypt* as it lies in the fourth and fifth North Climate ought to be fertile, yet I think that properly speaking, it is not so, but rather quite the contrary, as abounding with Salt and Nitre, and in some Places mixt with Sand. But the Mud left by the *Nile* covering and mixing with these, produces a Soil fruitful to a Miracle. But where the *Nile* comes not these Advantages are wanting, and the Soil is perfectly barren, but not useless, as we shall see hereafter. They dig various Clays, fit for different Purposes, some are of the Nature of Fuller's Earth, some serve to cleanse, to strengthen, and to give a bright yellow Colour to the Ladies Hair, some are medicinal, and in that Respect of great Value ; but most of them are fit for making earthen Ware, especially for Water Jars, which for cooling and clearing the Liquid contained in them, excell all the Earthen Ware in the World. Near the Burgh of *Chasagbut* in the upper *Egypt*, they dig a Clay of a pale Pink Colour, of which they make all sorts of Vessels, and of a very high Price, on Account not only of their Beauty, but of their odoriferous Smell, which they never loose.

As to the other Commodities resulting from the Soil of *Egypt*, we will divide them into such as are found thereon, such as grow therein, and such as are produced thereby. Of the first the principal are Salt and Nitre. As to the Salt of *Egypt*, it is without all Comparison the best in the Universe, the Reason of which I
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take to be, that it is strictly speaking, the Manufacture of Nature. After the recess of the *Nile* it is found spread upon the Earth like a white Sheet, in such quantities, that it bears a small Price, neither do they hinder any Body from gathering what may suffice for his own Use. It is white as Snow, hard as Sand, peculiarly fine in its Taste, which is simply pungent without any bitterness. *Nitre*, which the *Arabs* call *Natron*, is not so easily had, neither is it taken out of the Earth in all Parts of *Egypt*. An *Arabian* Prince who resides at *Laux*, and who hath three hundred and sixty Hamlets or Villages under his Dominion, employs constantly fifty Camels in carrying *Nitre* to *Cairo*. It is thought that he sells annually as much as comes to 100,000 *Sequins*. There are two sorts of *Nitre*, the one of Rose Colour, very hard and weighty, this they call *Sultani*, the other White and light, and less valued, called *La Sultani*. *Sal ammoniacum*, or as we call it *Sal Armoniac*, is also made in *Egypt* with great Facility, and to the great Profit of such as deal in it.

As to the Riches which are found in the Heart of the Soil, we must reckon among them that vast abundance of Marble which is met with in upper *Egypt*, an exact Description of the several Sorts whereof would take up a Volume; I shall content myself with saying, that there are Mines of an *Onyx* Colour, the Stones dug out of which are nearly transparent; there are others of a Honey Colour, wonderfully bright and shining; also a sort of green Marble regularly sprinkled with Blood-red Spots; *Porphyry* in abundance, and in the extreme Parts of *Egypt* towards *Ethiopia*, a hard, red, shining Stone, with golden Streaks and Spots. As to precious Stones I have

already said enough concerning Emeralds ; and besides these there are Chrysolites, Heliotropes, Jaspers, and I have been told Topazes ; but I cannot affirm it. There is also a blue Stone of great Beauty, which differs from the Turquoise as well as from the Sapphire, being opaque like the former, but in Colour inclining to the latter, curiously sprinkled as it were with Grains of Gold. Eagle Stones are also found here very commonly. Vitriol, Allom, and *Lapis Calaminaris* are found there in abundance ; all excellent in their Kind.

To speak of all the Plants of *Egypt*, would require more Time and Experience than any Traveller, who did not go thither for that purpose, can bestow ; I shall content my self therefore with touching on a few Curiosities that seldom escape the Knowledge and Admiration of intelligent Enquirers. There grows in *Egypt* a kind of Nightshade call'd by the Inhabitants *Datura*. The Blossom of this Plant is sweet-scented, and it produces a round Fruit enclosed in a prickly Shell, the Core of which Fruit is full of yellow Seeds. I do not know any Good that can be done either with the Fruit or Flowers, but with the Seeds they do a great deal of Mischief, for grinding them when dry, they make a Powder or Meal, which without casting Men into a Sleep, or apparent Heaviness, disorders, or rather locks up the Senses. Thieves mix it up in Bread, and travelling in a Caravan, find Means to slip it upon some of their Companions, from whom, an Hour after they have eaten thereof, they take what they please, the Men being senseless, and make the best of their Way. There is an Herb, call'd *Culcas* by the *Arabs*, by us *Colocasia*, mightily esteem'd by the Inhabitants who eat it raw and boiled ; it is of a windy flatulent

lent Nature, but is a strong Provocative, and therefore these People exceedingly delight in it. The *Papyrus* grows in the *Nile*, having a strong Root, and many strait Stalks, very high above the Water; its Leaves are triangular, and pretty thick in the middle. This was, heretofore, the all-useful Plant, now of no Use at all. The Native call Cucumbers, *Chate*; and *Egypt* may be properly stiled their Country, for they grow there to an excessive Bigness, are almost transparent, but at the same time their Juices so thoroughly concocted by the Sun, that they are at once much pleasanter than our Cucumbers, and perfectly innocent; so that they are eaten in Fevers. In the Neighbourhood of *Alexandria* there grow in great Plenty a kind of Trees call'd *Dachel*, or *Dadel*, peculiar to this Country; and which though they seldom shoot high, bear a very large Fruit. There is no Part of this Tree which is not of Use; the Stock or Body of it is cut into sound Timber; its Boughs are turned into all Sorts of Wooden Ware; with its Leaves they wrap up Things; of its Bark they make Packthread, and a Sort of Ropes; and its Fruit hath a wonderful rich fine Taste. As to Grain and Pulse, they have all Sorts in great Plenty, and excellent, especially Wheat and wild Rice, with this peculiar Advantage, that they are never at the Trouble of plowing or of weeding; they only scatter the Seed in the Mud, then draw a wooden Harrow over it, and so let it rest till Harvest.

As to the Birds of *Egypt*, they have most of the sorts which are common in *Europe*, as well as many that we have not; Quails in such abundance, that the Country-People take them with their Hands, but then their Flesh is black, hard, and ill-tasted. The Merchants at *Alexandria*

andria buy them alive, feed them in Coops, and thereby remove that offensive Bitterness which they have from their wild Food. Turtles also abound here, and build about their Houses. They have also very good Pidgeons, and in great Plenty; Swallows of two Sorts, which I think very remarkable, one, which is exactly like ours, and a Bird of Passage; the other, of a darker Colour, and without any Mixture of white, which stays in *Egypt* the whole Year. Geese and Swans are frequently seen swimming in the Branches of the *Nile*. Storks and Cranes are common; and many of the great Men keep of the former tame. Hawks there are excellent in their Kind, and which formerly were sold into *Europe* at great Prices; as also Kites, which the *Arabs* and *Moors* know how to tame, and to make use of in Fowling. In the Desarts, towards *Suez*, there are Ostriches, but it is thought that they are not Natives of *Egypt*, but Inmates only from the neighbouring Countries. Our common Hens are the Fowls most eat in *Egypt*, where they have two Sorts, one of the same Size with ours, the other very little inferior to Geese in Bigness, both very cheap, and easily to be had every where. Besides these, they have a Kind of Fowl brought from *Numidia*, the Flesh of which is very fine, and well tasted; this is one of their greatest Dainties, and sold dear. As they hatch all their Eggs in Ovens, their Hens are consequently never broody; and Eggs also are very plenty, which is necessary, because they make a great Part of the Food of the common People.

THE *Nile* is very well stored with Fish, and the Fish therein are remarkably large and fat, particularly a kind of Pike, excessively voracious, and which sometimes
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come to be so large as to weigh eighty Pounds. *Eeles* are here in great Plenty, and high Perfection, some as thick as a Man's Arm, but they are not wholesome at all Times; and in the Months of *April* and *May* especially they are so dangerous, that many People have been poisoned by eating them. There is a broad fat Fish in the *Nile*, which though it differs widely from ours in Form, yet all the *Europeans* here will have to be a Tench, because the Flesh tastes like that of a Tench, and is therefore very much esteemed. There are also spotted Mulletts, that are much valued, and are indeed a fine firm Fish. In the *Nile* likewise are abundance of Tortoises, very large, and their Flesh very sweet and good, especially when thoroughly boiled, otherwise it is unwholesome. The Cities of *Alexandria*, *Rosetta*, and *Damietta*, are furnish'd with all Sorts of Sea-Fish in the highest Perfection, and at very low Prices. Of these I shall only mention Soles, which are of an extraordinary Size, and yet perfectly well tasted. They salt a great deal of Fish for Exportation, as also the Spawn of Fish, which is of a very high Relish, and is call'd *Botarac*. From the Fish I think it is most natural to proceed to the Insects, of which there are great Variety in *Egypt*.

THE Ants there are excessively large, and very furious, stinging or biting such as disturb them with as much Rage as a Dog, whereby they excite a burning Anguish which continues for a long Time, and is not easily cured. Some of them have Wings, and these are still more troublesome. Flies and Gnats sting here more than any where else, and there are such abundance of the latter, that without defending the Beds by Nets, there would be no such thing as sleeping. Studious Persons,

sons, and such, as are much within Doors, are forced to have Nets at their Windows, and at their Chamber-doors, to prevent these troublesome Guests from entering. There are many Kinds of Spiders, large and venomous, with these the *Ichneumon Wasp* is continually at War; and nothing can be more entertaining than to observe the Arts made use of by these Enemies to incline Victory to their Side. There are abundance of *Bees*, especially on the Banks of the *Nile*, where in hollow Trees, or in Caverns, they fix their Combs, and make both excellent Honey and Wax. There are many Scorpions in *Egypt*, but all of them either white or green; they do not exceed those of *France* in Size, but in Venom they transcend those and all other Creatures in the World. The white are less venomous than the green, that is to say, their Poison does not operate so soon; but with Respect to both, an Amputation of the bitten Limb is the sole Expedient for preventing Death in a few Hours time with incredible Torture. Yet the *Moors*, who make a Trade of catching these Creatures for the Use of Apothecaries, who make an Oil of them, which is very valuable; these *Moors*, I say, lay hold of them without Fear, with their bare Hands, carry them in their Bosoms, take them out from thence, and put them into the Apothecaries Vessels, without the least Apprehension; neither hath it been known that any of these People have been bit; for I suppose if they were, they would not escape better than the *Whites*. As to black Scorpions, or flying ones, of which some Authors speak very confidently, and many People in *Egypt* are ready to assert that such Creatures there are, I shall only say that I never saw any, nor ever heard any Person of Credit assert that he had himself seen
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any such. Serpents and Snakes there are of innumerable Kinds ; I shall mention only a few. Of Asps there are three Sorts. The first of these is the spitting or spewing Asp, so call'd from its ejecting its Poison thro' its Teeth. The Antients call'd it *Phytas* ; and this was the Serpent *Gleopatra* made use of when she resolved to end her Misfortunes by Death. This Serpent is about three Feet long, and rather bigger than our Viper ; its Bite is mortal, and generally esteemed incurable ; but this is far from being a proper Description of the Nature of its Venom, which is very singular. It is thought that this Creature ejects less in Quantity than any other of the Kind ; however that be, it is certain that the Punctures made by its Teeth are scarce discernable. After a Person has been bitten about an Hour, he finds himself heavy and inclined to Sleep, without any Pain or Disorder of Mind ; by degrees, however, he finds his Limbs lose their Strength, a kind of pleasing Stupidity invade his animal Faculties ; and so he dies without a Groan or a Complaint. The second sort of Asp, in Colour, Shape, and Length, resembles a *Pike*. The last Sort are from fifteen to eighteen Inches long, their Bellies white, their Backs of a very deep blue ; they have their Holes in the Banks of the *Nile*, from whence they spring with a terrible and fatal Fury. Amputation is the only Cure, and where that cannot be had, the Patient dies in terrible Agonies. The Horn Serpent is a great Curiosity ; the *Egyptians* call it *Tahyr* ; and the Antients have abundance of odd Stories about it. After all, it is far from being uncommon, and a little Care is sufficient to remove all the Doubts that have been raised concerning it. It is of a yellow Colour, about eighteen Inches long.

long, a round slender Body, with a broad flat Head; the Females have at the Corner of their Eyes two strong pointed Horns; the Male hath but one, which is towards his Nose. They live chiefly in dry Places, and are thought to draw their Nourishment from Nitre and Salt. They are extremely venomous, and Those who are bitten by them die of Thirst, which no Art can palliate. As to Serpents of great Magnitude, they are not frequently seen, but there are certainly in *Egypt* some as thick as a Man's Thigh, and fifteen or twenty Feet long: But for Dragons and flying Serpents, I am apt to believe they rather live in the Heads of fanciful Men, than either in this or any other Country. I will conclude this Article with an Account of the most wonderful, though the most common Serpent in *Egypt*. This is call'd by the Inhabitants *Tobham*, and is generally between three and six Feet long, though some have been seen a great deal bigger. It hath a fleshy Substance reaching on each Side of its Neck from its Jaw to about a third Part of its Body; this it either stiffens or contracts as it will, and thereby not only erects itself in a surprising Manner, but also throws it self forward as if it flew. It is usually found in the *Catacombs*, and among ancient Ruins; but its Affection for Men, as it is very singular, so it is also unaccountable. If the Juglers only, who never fail to have many of these Species of Serpents, were possessed of the Skill of Taming them, it would be less wonderful; but this is so far from being the Case, that all Degrees of People who delight in Animals feed and keep these Creatures about them. They are not only tame and innoxious, but also useful and docible, to a degree beyond our Dogs in *Europe*, insomuch that no-
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thing can be more diverting than to see them play over the Tricks they are taught.

OF Scaly Lizard-like Animals, there are great Variety in *Egypt*, particularly the *Cameleon*, which resembles much an ordinary Lizard, yet is it far less beautiful, neither has it almost any of those Properties for which it was celebrated by the Antients. It is so far from living upon Air, that it is a very voracious Animal, maintaining it self by catching and eating of Flies. As to changing of Colour, that too is a Mistake, unless its having a changeable colour'd Skin may pass for a Wonder. As to its Eye turning every Way, therein the Description is right, for it doth so in a very odd Manner, one Eye looking forwards, and the other frequently behind ; and this Provision Nature hath made that it may easily catch its Prey. The *Scinos*, or Land-Crocodile, is a very exact Copy of the Water One, but very little and harmless, feeding mostly upon Flowers and Herbs, especially such as are of a sweet Smell. The Crocodile it self delights in the *Nile*, but more in the great Lakes formed by Channels, derived from thence. In the *Delta* there are sometimes Crocodiles seen, but small and lean ; this the Inhabitants of *Egypt* ascribe to the Power of a *Talisman* ; but the true Reason seems to be the Number of Boats on the River, and of Villages on its Banks, for the Crocodiles naturally fly from and avoid Men in Companies ; for if they are single, and in the upper *Egypt*, they will venture to attack them. The Ancients have certainly reported abundance of things falsely of this Creature, for which there was the less Occasion, since in it self it is a wonderful Creature, as well as most terrible and cruel. It is believed to grow as long

as it lives, and it is certain that some have been seen upwards of thirty Feet long. It runs swiftly, but cannot easily turn; its great Strength lies in its Tail, which it uses very nimbly, striking its Prey therewith, and so stupifying it before it eats it. Some have spoken of tame Crocodiles, but surely with little Certainty, since at *Cairo* it is known by Experience that when a young Crocodile is taken, it will refuse Meat till it dies. The Female Crocodile lays about sixty Eggs at a time; they are not bigger than those of a Goose; the young Crocodiles are small in Proportion, but they are amazingly swift in their Growth. They are taken by various Arts; and some of the *Moors* are so hardy, that with a strong Rope they will venture into the *Nile*, and after a long Combat, drag out a Crocodile, and bring him to *Cairo*, where they first make a kind of Show of him, and then kill him.

THE Inhabitants of *Egypt* are *Copts*, or *Cophiti*; *Jews*, *Moors*, *Arabs*, *Turks* and *Franks*, or *European Christians*. Of all these in their Order. The *Copts*, or *Cophiti*, are the natural Inhabitants of this Country. This Name signified originally the Inhabitants of the *Coptic Nome*, the Capital of which was the City of *Coptos*, but by degrees it hath been extended to all the *Egyptian Christians*. In like manner the *Arabians* stiled them *Kibthi*, from *Kibth*, which is the modern Name of the ancient City of *Coptos*. These poor People may be justly reckoned among the most dejected and distressed Nations in the Universe. The *Turks*, and all the *Mohammedans* in *Egypt*, treat them with the opprobrious Name of Infidels; and, on the other hand, the Christians, in Communion with the Church of *Rome*, look upon them as

Heretics.

Heretics. Thus are they persecuted and despised by Friends and Strangers, and lead their Lives in the most abject Sort of Slavery that can be imagined. They were formerly very numerous, but at present they are much reduced, and daily decreasing. The Language they use is peculiar to their Nation, and seems to be a Compound of the ancient *Egyptian*, and of the *Greek* Tongue as it was spoken by the Soldiers of *Alexander* the Great. In respect to their religious Tenets, they have been grossly misrepresented; and though it be true that they are not a learned or very quick-witted Nation, yet are they far from being so stupid or ignorant as they are generally represented.

It is certain that they are zealous Christians, and that they have very just Notions of the Causes and Consequences of *CHRIST*'s Coming, whom they stile the *Messiah*. They baptize by three Immerfions, invoking the Persons of the Holy Trinity separately. Namely, one at each Immerfion. They likewise use many Unctions with that Ceremony. When any of them are indisposed, the Priest comes and prays by them, and not only anoints the sick Person, but also All who are present with him in the Room with consecrated Oil, for which they assign this Reason, that the Disease may not retire from the sick Person to any of his Friends, which they believe to be prevented by this general Unction. The *Roman* Catholicks affect to treat this Proceeding with great Contempt; and yet an indifferent Person will be apt to think that it is just as well founded as theirs. In giving the Eucharist they are very singular, for to Infants, immediately after Baptism, they give only the Wine, to Men they give the Communion under both

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Species;

Species ; and to the Women, who offer their Devotions without the Sanctuary, they give the Bread only, having first moistened it with a drop or two of the Wine. Confession to Priests they permit, but they do not compel it ; they fast constantly on *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*, and observe besides three *Lents* in the Year ; but then they eat Flesh on all the *Sundays* in the Year, and every *Saturday*, except the *Saturday* in the Holy Week. They are wonderfully sincere in all their Acts of Devotion ; and though their extreme Poverty, and that excessive Dejection of Mind which is derived from thence makes them contemptible in the Eyes of the *Franks* in general, yet those who endeavour to lay aside these Prejudices cannot but receive much Edification from the Purity of their Lives, and the Humility of their Deportment.

THEIR Clergy consists of Subdeacons, Deacons, Priests, Bishops, Archbishops, and a Patriarch, who sits in the Chair of St. *Mari*, whose Successor he is by an uninterrupted Chain of Prelates, which gives him a great Authority in this Part of the World. Their Bishops are eleven in Number, their Patriarch making the twelfth. As for the last he is a Monk, one, of whose Chastity there is no Suspicion, and who is generally compell'd to take upon him this high Office. He is a kind of Prince or Judge of his People, and besides consecrates the *Abuna*, or Patriarch of *Ethiopia*. To this Patriarch of the *Copts*, who is generally stiled Patriarch of *Alexandria*, there belongs a Revenue of near six thousand Pounds Sterling *per Annum*, all of which he bestows in the Relief of the Poor, or on national Occasions, reserving for his own Subsistence the Alms of good Christians, which he asks with great Humility, and lives upon them very frugally, riding

riding up and down on an Ass without any other Ensign of Dignity than his pastoral Staff. The greatest of their Errors seems to be that of Circumcising, which is either the Remains of some *Judaical* Notion, or which is more probable, hath been introduced since the Conquest of *Egypt* by the *Mohammedans*, in Complaisance to them. But this Practice begins to be disused, and several of their Patriarchs have declared against it. Their Monks live in Desarts, in large Monasteries, where they fare very hardly, labour with their Hands, and spend all their Time in Acts of Piety and Charity, which they exercise chiefly towards the *Arabs*, who travelling in these waste Places, find themselves often on the Point of perishing for Want, from which they are delivered by the Supplies afforded them by these Monks. As to the Laity, they are either industrious Mechanics, laborious Peasants, or Stewards to *Turkish* Lords, who make Choice of them for their remarkable Fidelity. With Trade they meddle not, lest it should corrupt their Manners: And so strictly are they bound to their Religion and their Country, that no Prospects of Preferment can ever allure them to think of quitting *Egypt*, or changing that laborious Life which they lead there for one more commodious in another Place.

THE *Jews* are very numerous here, for which there is a very good Reason, *viz.* the great Conveniency they have of getting Money, for which, it is well known, that they compass Sea and Earth, and neglect no Methods of attaining it that their own quick Wits suggest. There are certainly forty thousand at least in *Egypt*, who All live upon the Labours of others; for, except a few Toys and childish Baubles, they make nothing themselves; but by Peddling, Quacking, acting as Brokers, and

above all, turning Collectors of the Revenue, Tax-gatherers, and Financiers, they make a Shift to amass Fortunes at the Expence of the People, which they seldom live to enjoy, at least in Quiet, for Reasons that will hereafter appear. The common Opinion is, that the Climate and Soil of this Country transform all its Natives into perfect *Egyptians*, that is, into Men without Will to Labour, Courage to Fight, or Ambition to distinguish themselves any other Way, Finery excepted. The *Jews*, however, escape this Infection pretty well, and seem to preserve their Subtilty, Avarice, and adulatory Address, as well here as in other Parts of the World. There is no sort of Trade carried on without their having not only a Share therein, but the principal Direction thereof: So that *Christians* and *Turks* are constrained to make Use of them, though the former are always diffident of them, and the latter despise and detest them. As a Proof of this, I need only observe, that the *Mohammedan* Divines assign to the wicked *Jews* the lowest Parts of Hell, where they fancy they are confined separately from those of their Religion, and from the *Christians*. Whenever they speak of them, they do it in Terms of Hatred and Contempt; and yet their most important Affairs are managed by them, of which, as near as I can, I shall endeavour to point out the Reasons.

THE *Jews*, as they are scattered over the Face of the Earth, so they maintain amongst themselves a very strict and regular Correspondence; this gives them vast Advantages, especially among People who keep no Correspondence at all; and therefore the Need they have of them obliges the *Turks* to employ them. Again, their Skill

Skill in Money-Matters, their Knowledge in Trade, their Acquaintance with the Means of selling or procuring any thing that is offered or wanted, renders them a sort of Tools which are not only convenient, but which Men, like the *Turks* and *Arabs*, cannot be without. But above all, their Subtleness, their Fawning, their mean Condescensions, and their adroit Flattery, makes them the properest Agents in the World for the *Turkish* Officers, who are equally indolent, and proud, desirous of enjoying all Things, and who notwithstanding cannot bear the Thoughts of doing any thing. Hence from the Bashaw of *Cairo*, down to the Aga in any garrison'd Place, there is not one of them but hath *Jews* about him, by whose Advice and Assistance he pillages the People, and enriches himself. The *Jews*, however, here, and throughout all the *East*, affect to distinguish themselves from the *Jews* of the *West*, (who also come on their Occasions into these Parts of the World) and treat them as if they were much below them, chiefly on this Account, that they boast of having preserved greater Privileges in the *East* than their Brethren have in the *West*; as also that their Copies of the Scripture are purer and more correct; whereas the *Turks* stick not to affirm, that they have corrupted the Scriptures, which is the Reason they assign for their being punished more in the other World than any other Nation. Many of these People pretend to Skill in Physic, but few of them are any better than Empiricks, excessively ignorant, and as excessively arrogant. There are also abundance of them Astrologers, Geomantists, and Professors of other occult Sciences; but miserable Professors they are, for if their Impudence be excepted, which is indeed superior to other

People's in a superlative degree, they have seldom the common Rudiments of Knowledge even in those Arts in which they boast themselves Proficients.

IN Imposture they have gone farther than any other Nation, which is the sole Reason, as I apprehend, that the Story of the wandering *Jew* hath circulated over all the World, and is equally believed by the Vulgar in *China* and in *Great Britain*. The *Mohammedans* tell us very seriously that he is *Zerid*, a Descendant from *Elias*, and that he was seen by one of their Prophet's Commanders in a certain high Mountain, where he told him that he had remained all this time alive by the Command of JESUS CHRIST, and that he was to attend his second Coming, of which he pretended to acquaint the *Arab* with certain Marks or Tokens, not unlike those, which in the *Revelations* are made coincident with the coming of Antichrist. The Christians again, I mean the Oriental Christians, have contrived a very orderly Story on this Head, from which they seldom or never vary; and the Substance of it is this, that the Name of the wandering *Jew* is *Joseph*, and that he was an Usher to *Pilate*, in which Quality pushing our Saviour out of the Palace with opprobrious Language, JESUS turned and said, *The Son of Man goeth hence, but thou shalt remain here until I come*. Struck with these Words, it is said that he became a Convert to the Christian Religion, and hath since that Time wandered up and down the World, renewing his Age after this Manner. When he attains the Age of a hundred, he falls first into Convulsions, and then into a Swoon, or deep Sleep, from which he awakens in the full Vigour of a Man of forty-five. They pretend that his Memory remains perfect, and that he is able to give a distinct

distinct Account of whatever hath come to his Knowledge throughout all the Time he has lived. Dr. *Salviati* assured me that such a Person had been seen about the middle of the sixteenth Century in *Germany*, where though he was very strictly examined by *Jews* as well as *Christians*, they were unable to detect him in any Falshood: And I have been also told, that a Person assuming this Character had been seen in *Egypt* several Times. All the Use I make of this Relation is to shew the universal Prejudice of the Inhabitants of all Countries against this unhappy People, whose Dispersion, and the Circumstances attending it, afford such convincing Proofs of the Truth both of the *Mosaic* and *Christian* Revelations, as might convince any Man who would be at the Pains to consider them attentively.

UNDER the general Name of *Moors* I comprehend all the *Mohammedans* from *Algiers*, *Tunis*, *Tripoli*, *Fez* and *Morocco*, who flying from the Poverty of their native Countries, come by Multitudes into *Egypt*, to pick up a miserable Subsistence by all Sorts of slavish Employments, or by downright begging. To say that these People are treated with the utmost Scorn and Indignity by the *Turks*, is to give them no distinguishing Character at all, since they treat without Distinction all the Peasants and Villagers in *Egypt* whom they stile *Felacs* in the same Way. They impose on them what Tasks they think fit, exact Obedience by any Means rather than fair ones, abuse and maltreat them with their Tongues and with their Hands; and after all this, if the poor Wretches should make the least Resistance, Death would certainly be the End of all their Miseries. What Wonder then that these hopeless People should be timid in their Na-

tures, whose Spirits are broken from their Infancy, and in whom the Disposition of a manly appearance would be fatal? Hence the Word *Felac* is amongst the better sort of People of all others the most outrageous Reproach, as carrying in it an Impeachment of a Man's Understanding, Morals, and Bravery, sinking them at once into the Rank of Blockheads and Cowards. But to return to the *Moors*.

IN a Country where there are so many who require Service, and where no Man will labour who can subsist in ever so poor a manner without it, there must be occasion sufficient for many Hands, and this is that which invites these poor People to *Alexandria, Rosetta, Damietta*, and other Towns in *Egypt*, where they let out Asses, work in the Gardens, ply as Porters, and perform whatever else is required of them for such daily Wages as in *England* would scarce be offered to a Beggar at the Door. Bread, Herbs and Salt, are all their Subsistence, and tho' they live in a Land of Plenty, yet they look like so many Ghosts, especially where their Numbers very much exceed the Necessities of their Masters, as frequently happens, and then the Fear of their thieving or doing worse Mischiefs, obliges the Inhabitants of the Places to which they resort, to drive them away by Force. A few *Moors* of Quality indeed do reside in *Egypt*, and live there in Reputation and Splendor; because as I shall hereafter shew, this is a sort of Privileged Place, to which Men from all Countries retire to live at Ease on that Wealth which would be fatal to them elsewhere, and which is also sometimes fatal to them here. All these *Moors* are alike zealous *Mohamedans*; and tho' in other Respects many of them are ignorant

ignorant to the last Degree, yet in reciting their Prayers enjoined by their Law, they shew a Fire and Spirit of Devotion, which would be very edifying if it did not border a little on Enthusiasm. The *Franks* are as great Enemies to these People as the *Turks*, they speak of them always as if they were the Dregs of all Mankind, and alike void of Sense and Virtue; to make up these Deficiencies, they allow them Vices without Number, and yet when the Thing is candidly examined, it does not appear that these People are worse than their Neighbours. Their extream Poverty tempts them to thieve, and the Severity with which they are used, extirpates in them that Compassion which usually attends human Nature. But is this Matter of Reproach towards them, or ought it not rather to fall upon those who hammer into them these base Notions by their bad Treatment?

MEN are pretty much alike in all Countries and in all Climates; it is the different Modes of governing, and various Ways of living, which make Men in one Place so unlike Men in another; and therefore in all Countries the Governors are responsible to reasonable Men here, and to the God of Truth and Justice hereafter, for the epidemic Errors of their People. If those who are entrusted with the Management of publick Affairs in *Egypt* would but think it incumbent on them to contrive proper Means for the support of those over whom they rule, these wretched *Moors* instead of being a Burthen and Disgrace to this Country, as now they are, might be employed in repairing publick Works, which would not only restore the ancient Lustre of *Egyptian* Magnificence, and exceedingly benefit all the Inhabitants of that vast Country, but also turn to the immense Profit
of

of the *Grand Seigneur*. This I am the rather persuaded of, from the Behaviour of the *Moors* in the Service of my Patron *Hassan*. They were most of them such as he pick'd up in *Egypt*, and set to work as much out of Charity, as for the Sake of what they did for him. These were all diligent, faithful, laborious Creatures, and in the Concerns I have had with any of that Nation, I have never been able to discover that the Prejudices against them were founded in any Thing but their Misfortunes, their extream Indigence, and their as extreme ill Usage. I do confess that this Opinion is singular, but singular Opinions are not always groundless. Most Men judge by Experience, and believe themselves justified in so judging; and therefore in following this Custom, I rid myself of singularity, and go in the beaten Tract again.

BEFORE I quit this Subject I cannot help taking Notice, that these *Moors*, who are thought to have scarce common Sense in *Egypt*, are in their own Countries known to be as artful, and as cunning, as any People in the Universe. The Christian Slave of *Hassan*, who brought me first to his Master's Acquaintance, furnish'd me with a Multitude of Instances in support of what I have advanced, amongst these I have selected one, which to me is not inferior to any Stratagem mentioned by the *Greek* and *Latin* Authors.

MOHAMMED *Almadi* King of *Fez*, was a Prince who in his younger Years, either had or affected a strong Passion for the Study of Divinity. The Ascendancy he gained over the Minds of Men, by being believed to have more Religion than is usually found in Heads covered with Crowns, enabled him to push Things

Things farther than most of his Predecessors; all his Clergy were devoted to his Interests, his Nobility stood in great Fear of him, and his People really believed that in him were united the Characters of Prince and Prophet. The Inhabitants of a Country lying to the South of his Dominions, had erected a kind of *Aristocratical* Commonwealth, under which they lived if not happily, at least much better than any of their Neighbours, and the Report of their being a rich and opulent People, vehemently spurred *Almadi* to attempt the bringing them under his Government.

WITH this View he set a great Army on Foot, marched into the Frontiers of his Neighbours, began to take their strong Places, and to ravage all the open Country. In vain the poor People opposed him, his Army was victorious in several Actions, tho' not without Loss, and he seemed to be on the Point of completing his Design, when he was informed, that the Enemy had drawn together an Army superior to his own, in order to make their last Effort for the Preservation of their Country. *Almadi* upon this, directed his March towards their Camp, and in a few Days a general Battle ensued, which for many Hours was fought with great Bravery and Resolution on both Sides. At length the Army of the King of *Fez* was constrained to retire, leaving many thousand dead Bodies on the Field of Battle.

THEN it was that the Soldiers for the first Time shewed a Dislike to their Prince's Conduct. They said that he had led them far from their Families to perish in a Foreign War, meerly to gratify his Ambition; that if as he pretended, he had undertaken this Expedition by
the

the Command of God, they should have been miraculously assisted, or at least they should not have been beaten ; and therefore they determined to compel him to retreat. *Almadi* having Intelligence of this mutinous Disposition, sent for a few of the Officers on whom he could depend, and having laid before them the Reasons he had to believe that the Enemy was in a worse Condition than they, he shewed them the Probability there was of perfecting the Conquest of this Country, if the Courage of his Soldiers could but be restored ; and in order to this, he proposed the following Expedient. That these Officers should in the dead of the Night go and lay themselves among the dead Men, from whence by the King's Orders they were to be brought off, and interr'd in certain Tombs which were in a Village hard by, and in which such Holes were made as were sufficient to furnish them with Air.

THIS Proposition being agreed to, and carried into Execution, *Almadi* assembled other Officers, of whose Fidelity he doubted, and having reproached them with want of Loyalty, and the injurious Things they had said of him ; he exhorted them to go to the Tombs of their Companions, and after recommending themselves to Heaven by Prayer, to enquire of the deceased Captains, whether the Promises he had made them of Felicity in the other World, were not accomplished to the full. These last mentioned Officers, in Pursuance of the King's Instructions went, accompanied with a great Company of Soldiers, where after solemn Prayer, they were surprized to hear the following Speech pronounced by a shrill Voice from one of the Tombs ;
Fight valiantly my Brethren in the Cause of God and
the

the King, since all who fall therein pass immediately to Paradise, and enjoy all the Bliss promised by our Prophet, let their past Life be ever so wicked.

THE Troops inspired with new Valour retired from the Tombs, and having encompassed the Tent of their Prince, promised him to follow him chearfully wherever he pleased to lead them. *Almadi* thanked them in a long and pious Speech, and as soon as he had dismissed them, went with a few Attendants to the Tombs, where he caused all the Air Holes to be stopped up, supposing that those who had served him so faithfully when living, ought not to refuse to die for him, when that alone was capable of furthering his Service. This I think is a sufficient Proof, that if the *Moors* are as wicked as our *Europeans*, they are likewise as capable of being wicked to some Purpose, if the Purposes of the Great deserve that Name.

THE *Arabs* in *Egypt* may be divided, as indeed they may be every where into two Classes. Such as live in Towns, and who differ little from the rest of the *Egyptians*, and such as live altogether in the Desarts, and are properly speaking *Bedoui* or *Arabi*, whom we call *Bedouins* and *Arabs*. As to those whom the *Turks* call *Cara Arabi*, or *Black Arabs*, they are properly speaking no *Arabs* at all, for by this Appellation they distinguish all such as have a Duskiness or Darkness in their Complexion, such as the Inhabitants of *Abyssinia*, *Nubia*, and the lower *Ethiopia*. Most Travellers tell us, that the *Arabs* who inhabit Towns, are honestest and more civilized than the wild *Arabs*, as they are pleased to call them, upon whom they bestow all the villainous Epithets that a heated Imagination can suggest. Yet is all
this

this the Effect of downright Ignorance ; for in Truth these civilized *Arabs* are so corrupted by living among the *Turks*, that it is not very safe to trust them, while on the other Hand, the free *Arabs* are not only a generous and polite People, but are above all Things remarkable for keeping their Faith, which they readily give to any Stranger who trusts them on his own Accord, and are never known to break it.

THE Reason why most of the *Franks* entertain such wrong Notions of these People, is because they will not take the Pains, or as they call it, run the Hazard of being acquainted with them ; they are pleased with the *Arabians* in Cities, because they have a frankness, and pleasantness in their Tempers, which is rarely met with in the *Turks* ; they are prejudiced against the other *Arabs*, by seeing them frequently brought to *Cairo*, and other Places for robbing on the Highway, where they are constantly put to the most cruel Deaths, which they endure with what appears to be a brutal Obstinacy. All Nations like all private Men have their Faults, and as we are better acquainted with our Neighbour's Failings than with our own, so the Inhabitants of one Country decry another on Account of Customs they do not understand. Instead of doing this, a wise Man makes it his Business to enquire narrowly into those Customs ; for whatever some People may think, Surprise is always the Child of Ignorance ; if we know little, we are apt to be surprized at every Thing ; but in Proportion as our Knowledge encreases, this Disposition wears off. In like manner young Horses are apt to start, but when they have been compelled by the Spur to approach the Objects of their Fear, they are cured of

of this Vice; so much more judicious are we in managing our Horses than our Children. But to return from this Digression.

As the *Arabs* believe themselves descended from *Ishmael*, they are extremely proud of their Nobility, looking down with Contempt on the *Turks*, whom they regard as a mixt People, and consequently of mean Birth, for the Purity of their Families is with them the Ground of Nobility. They are however so modest as to confess that they are not able to trace their Genealogies so high as this Father of their Race, but content themselves with deriving their Families from some of his Descendants. The whole Nation is divided into Tribes, and those again are subdivided into Families, each of which has a Chief. Their sole Profession is Arms, for they think it beneath them to exercise any manual Trades, whereas the *Sciences* they exceedingly affect, especially Rhetorick and Poesy. They seldom care to come into Cities, tho' sometimes they do upon the publick Faith; for the *Turks* and they live in continual Hostilities. These People, I mean the *Arabs*, look upon it as a Disgrace to die in their Beds, and this it is that makes them so fearless in their Expeditions. If they are made Prisoners they so much disdain the *Turks*, that they will not vouchsafe to speak; but sometimes when they come to suffer Death, which is generally the terrible one of impaling, they converse with each other on indifferent Things, and so yield up their Breath with a Constancy, of which it is impossible to give a proper Description. I do not say that this Behaviour is right or commendable, but I say it is Heroism, tho' built on false Principles; for to conserve the Abilities of the Mind in the

the midst of Misfortunes and Pains, is the utmost Effect of human Courage, and is always admirable, let its Cause be what it will. For my own Part, the Courage of the *Arabs* appears more Heroic to me, than the Courage shewn by Christians ; because the Principles upon which Christians act are plain and simple, and provided they are truly Christians, it is impossible that Death should alarm them much ; whereas the *Arabs* are generally governed by temporal Motives, which one would think should render Life dearer to them than they do. But Custom, Example, and above all the Exhortation of their Women, who place all the Merit of a Man in his Valour, brings them into such a stubborn Habit of supporting Evil, that the Patience of an *Arab* is in Practice a great deal superior to the Patience of a Stoic in Theory.

As to their Persons, the *Arabs* are generally middle sized thin Men, their Features regular, their Presence noble and majestic, extremely nimble in their Motions, and the compleatest Horsemen in the World. In their Tempers they are generally grave, generous, full of Ambition, amorous, prone to the occult Sciences, and fond of Poetry to excess, Magnificent in their Habits where they have it in their Power, but frugal beyond Belief in their manner of living, extremely tender of their Children, but too severe towards their Subjects and Slaves. I might extend this Character by digressing into a multitude of other Particulars, but I chuse rather to paint the *Arabs* from the Life, and by relating Facts to raise an Idea nearer Truth than any Description I can make would ever excite. The grand Characteristick of the Genius of the *Arabians* is a subtile Vivacity
of

of Mind, of which the following Instance hath so charmed the oriental Nations, that it hath been made the Subject of two long Poems, and indeed it is extremely well chosen, inasmuch as it unfolds exactly a Temper otherwise not easily represented.

THREE *Arabs*, Brethren of a noble Family, who were travelling together for the sake of improving their Minds, were met by Accident by a *Camel Driver*, who asked them, if they had not seen a Camel which had strayed from him in the Night? *Was not the Camel blind of an Eye?* said the eldest: *Yes*, said the Man. *It had a Tooth out before*, said the second: *It is very true*, replied the Man. *Was it not a little lame?* added the third: *Why really it was*, returned the Driver. The *Camel Driver* took it for granted that they had seen it; and therefore besought them to tell him which Way it went. *Follow us Friend*, said they; the Man did so. He had not gone far before he happened to say, that the *Camel was laden with Corn. And it had*, added the *Arabians*, *a Vessel of Oil on one Side, and a Vessel of Honey on the other*: *It had so*, said the Man, *therefore let me conjure you to tell me where you met it. Met it*, replied the eldest of the Brothers, *Why we never saw your Camel at all.* The Man losing Patience at this, began to load them with Reproaches, and as they were passing through a Village raised the People upon them, and caused them to be apprehended. The Judge of the Village not being able to determine the Cause, sent them to the Prince of the Country, who perceiving by their Behaviour that they were Persons of Distinction, set them at Liberty, lodged them in his Palace, and treated them with all the Respect imaginable. After

some Days were over, he took an Opportunity to intreat them to clear up this Mystery, by explaining to him how they could possibly hit upon so many Circumstances without ever having seen the Camel. The young Men smiled at the importunity of the Prince, and after having returned him abundance of Thanks for the Civilities they had received, the eldest of them spoke thus: "*We are not either Deceivers or Necromancers,*
" we never saw the Man's Camel, nor did we use any
" other Instruments of Divination than our Senses and
" our Reason. I for my Part judged it was blind, be-
" cause I observed the Grass eaten on one side of the
" Road, and not on the other. I, said the second,
" guessed it had lost a Tooth before, because where the
" Grass was cropt closest, there was constantly a little
" Tuft left behind. And I, added the third, conceived it
" was lame, because the Prints of three Feet were di-
" stinct in the Road, whereas the Impression of the fourth
" was blurred; whence I concluded, that the Beast
" dragged it, and did not set it to the Ground. All
" this I apprehend, said the Prince, but how in the Name
" of Providence could you discover that Oil and Honey
" made a part of its loading? Why, returned the Ara-
" bians, we guessed this, because on one side of the Road
" we saw little Troops of Ants ferriting the Grass, and
" on the other we saw the Flies assembled here and there
" in Groups, insomuch that few or none were on the
" Wing." Whether this Story be true or false matters,
 not much, since it so exactly expresses what it was
 meant to express, the quick and deep Penetration of the
Arabs.

ALL their Sayings are strongly impregnated with this sort of Spirit ; but it requires a kind of Enthusiasm to apprehend the force of them, for I have known *Europeans* of so phlegmatic a Temper, as to see nothing shining in their brightest Sayings. For Example, I heard a *German* Monk dispute the Elegance of the *Arabian* Maxim, *That in God is the sole Refuge from God*. By which they mean, that acquiescing in his Will is the sole Remedy against those Evils, which through the Course of Providence fall upon us, and hurt us only by our Impatience, since they are always intended for our Good, either here or hereafter, which if we understood, they would be no Evils at all.

THEY are extremely diffident of the *Turks*, whom they look upon as the most perfidious People in the World, and alledge this as a just Cause why they are continually exercising their People in Excursions, which very strongly resemble Robberies. During the Time I was in the upper *Egypt*, I had the following Story from the Mouth of the *Bey*, who tho' the Subject, was yet the implacable Enemy of the *Grand Seignior*. *Hamet* Prince of *Sait* was, in the beginning of the sixteenth Century, the most powerful Lord in *Egypt*, and having a just Conception of the Maxims of the *Turkish* Government, sent regularly the stipulated Tribute to *Cairo*, but would never be prevailed upon to go thither in Person, either by fair Means or foul. The Exploits he performed with great Bodies of Horse, that were always at his Command against such of his Neighbours as justly incurred his Resentment, spread his Fame even as far as *Constantinople*, where it was resolved, that he should be taken off by some Means or other. The

Report of the *Bassa* of *Cairo* demonstrated that this could not be done by Force ; and therefore it was made a standing Instruction to all his Successors, to allure *Hamet* to *Cairo*, and there to secure his Person till the *Sultan's* Pleasure should be farther known. Several Years were elapsed before this could be brought about. At last *Hassan Bassa*, a *Eunuch*, a Man of great Experience and Address, by repeated Assurances of his Master's particular Respect and Favour towards this Prince, drew him to *Cairo*, attended by the *Bassa's Chiaja*, to do him the greater Honour. As they entered the Suburb *Bulack*, they saw a fine gilded Barge in the *Nile*, on Board which were many *Chiaux* eating and drinking, who as soon as they saw the *Bey*, sent one of their Company to invite him to partake of their Repast. *Hamet* alighting from his Horse, went on Board the Barge, but he was scarce fate down to Meat, before those who invited him seized his Arms and bound him ; however before they could stop his Mouth, he cried out to his People on Shore, and told them that he was betrayed. The *Arabs* were not above thirty in number, yet they plunged into the River to come to the Assistance of their Master. The *Turks* immediately issued from all the Posts where they lay in Ambuscade, but not Time enough to prevent the *Arabians* from delivering *Hamet*, and setting him on Horseback. They made no Doubt of retaking him when he came on Shore ; but they erred even in this, for he and his Attendants charged them so briskly, that tho' they were seven hundred in number, yet the *Arabs* broke through and escaped into the Desert, having slain fifty *Turks* in the Action. On his Return to *Sait*, the *Bassa* sent to

to compliment him, and to assure him that the Attempt was not made by his Order. *Hamet* answered, that he readily believed it was not, and that he had still so great a Confidence in the *Bassa*, as to rely upon his Interest for the Remission of a third Part of his Tribute, which from this Time forward he reserved for his own Use, and the *Turks* were very glad he exacted no dearer Satisfaction; because all the *Arabs* in *Egypt* seemed inclined to resent the Affront, which if they had done, the *Bey* might have brought a hundred thousand Horse into the Field; but he revenged himself with less Hazard.

HORSES are the great Riches, and almost the sole Instruments of Power which these *Arab* Princes possess. Of these they have Numbers in their Stables, all of them of great Value, and I was going to say, of great Quality also. The *Arabians* as they pique themselves on their own Nobility, so they are no less jealous of the Descent of their Horses, whose Genealogies they keep as exactly as their own; nor is a Horse ever parted with without giving at the same Time an authentick Certificate of his Pedigree. The true *Arab* Coursers are not so beautiful to the Eye as the Horses bred in *Egypt*, but they are stronger, and of more Mettle. However the *Egyptian* Horses are very serviceable, and there need not be either for Shew or Use better Cavalry than the Troops in this Country, if the Men were as capable of Discipline as the Horses. The great Excellency of the *Arabs* lies in their Retreats, which they perform with such incredible Speed, and push their Horses up such Hills, and through such Woods and Morasses, as sets them quickly without the Reach of any Enemy, and

as they never fly through Fear, gives them an Opportunity of considering how they shall next attack the Enemy, or provide for their safe Return into their own Territories. Their Horses as well as themselves bear not only Fatigue but Want also, with incredible Fortitude. Next to their Horses, their Wealth consists in Camels, which they make Use of to transport their Women, Children and Baggage, from Place to Place. These Creatures too are wonderful hardy, insomuch, that they will bear five Days want of Water very well, as the Horses will three. To enter farther into the Customs and Manners of the *Arabs*, would carry me into too long a Digression, especially, as I consider them only as settled in *Egypt*; and therefore I shall turn from them to the *Turks*.

In order to have a distinct Idea of the *Turks* settled in *Egypt*, it is necessary to divide them into three sorts. The first consists of such Persons as having either suffer'd Disgrace at Court, or finding themselves without Employment on the Death of an Emperor, withdraw themselves into this Country to live at their Ease. Of these there are a considerable Number who enjoy in this delicious Kingdom all the Pleasures which Men of their Dispositions affect most, such as rich Habits, fine Houses, a great number of Slaves, and above all a *Serail* well filled with Women. What is most extraordinary is the number of *Eunuchs* who are settled here, who in all other Respects do not only support the Dignity of Men once eminent in Courts, but also in Women, are more nice, have greater Variety of Mistresses, and part more freely with Money for handsome Women, than any other Persons whatsoever: For this I have heard
no

no good Reason assigned ; and therefore I will not pretend to give any, much less my own Conjectures, which have at various Times been so different and so unsatisfactory, that I did not think them any way worthy of Preservation.

THE second sort of *Turks* are such as come hither in some sort of Office or other, and these Lord it over all the rest of the People, with a Haughtiness mixt with such Meanness and Avarice, as will be made sufficiently apparent when I come to speak of the Government of *Egypt*. These sort of Folks are in general very rich; for having it in their Power to extort what they please, and in their Will not to leave an *Asper* untaken which can be possibly got, having daily Presents from such as need their Favour, and seizing too frequently on the Goods of such as want Interest to support them against these Violences, we may easily conceive, that while the rich Commodities of this noble Country bring into it immense Sums from all Quarters, these Men have a very large Share.

THE third sort of *Turks* are the Descendants of both the former sorts, but they live in a very different manner ; for whereas those I mentioned before enjoy Wealth and Authority in abundance, these seldom arrive at any Share of either, but are treated with Contempt as *Felacs* or Natives, only they are allowed to enter into the Service, where they remain private Men to their Lives End, so unfortunate a Thing it is to be born in that Country, wherein, notwithstanding, the *Turks* desire most of all to live.

As to the Manners of this Nation, they are far from being so amiable as some Christian Writers would

represent them ; Haughtiness and Vanity are inseparable from their Nature ; proud of their Dominion, they look down with Contempt on their unhappy Subjects ; insolent when they act from the Dictates of their Heart, superciliously courteous when they have it in view to deceive or work upon a Stranger, ostentatiously fond of their Religion, exact in their Obedience to such Precepts as regard exterior Things, but seldom very cautious in respect to Actions which concern their Neighbours, either in their Persons or their Properties ; profuse in Promises of Friendship, but sparing in the Performance of them ; abandoned to Sensuality, and wholly devoted to Self-Interest. It is true, that some by the Help of Learning and Conversation get the better of their evil Inclinations, and thereby maintain as well as acquire the Character of honest Men ; but the Character of the Nation is taken from the many not from the few, and therefore it is sufficient to acknowledge that in this as well as in other general Descriptions, we must sometimes allow of Exceptions.

As to the *Franks* or *European* Christians in *Egypt*, they are for the most part *English*, *French*, or *Italians*. Such as reside constantly, are under the Protection of their respective Consuls ; and such as come merely to satisfy their Curiosity, are not only recommended to the Consuls, but generally also to some particular Merchant, that they may be the more at their Ease, and have the greater leisure to pursue the Inquiries they come to make. As to the Trade of *Egypt*, the manner in which it is at present carried on, the Improvements of which it is capable, and especially the very great one of purchasing *East-India* Goods by Exchange
for

for our own Commodities, whereas we send Silver to the *Indies*; concerning all these things I have elsewhere spoken at large; and therefore I shall only throw together some scattered Thoughts on the Conduct of *Europeans*, and which could not so properly come in, in another Place.

I have always observed that the Subjects of the State of *Venice*, and other *Italians*, manage their Affairs more to their own Profit, and much more to their Credit, than the other Merchants who live there, though the latter have in many Respects the Advantage of the former. Of this I conceive the chief Reason to be that Sobriety so natural to the Natives of *Italy*, Vigilance, Penetration and Civility; for all these Qualities they possess in a supreme Degree. The becoming Gravity of their Behaviour suits so well the affected Solemnity of the *Turks*, that they look upon them as wiser than other Christians, and therefore advise with, and confide in them more than the rest. Their constant Attention to the Business upon which they come, keeps their Affairs in a clearer and more certain Course, than can be well imagined by those who have not seen them. The Pains they take to examine more curiously, the Commodities in which they deal and the Methods of Trade and Manufactures amongst the Natives, than is common with the Merchants of other Countries, gives them great Superiority of Judgment, which they never boast of, though they neglect no Occasion of using it. Their Address is so courtly, and at the same Time hath such an Appearance of Candour, they are so nice in all Things which respect good Manners, and so punctual in all Offices of Friendship, that the politest and most sensible of the *French* and *English* converse more with them than with
their

their own Countrymen. To say the Truth, we have borrowed from the *Italians* all that we know of Trade, as our Books of Account testify, and the Terms made use of by the Merchants of *England*, *Germany*, and *Holland*. It would be well if we could borrow also when we go abroad their Manners and their Virtues ; I say nothing of their Vices, because those we are apt enough to steal, and by affecting their Foibles and ill Qualities, prejudice our Countrymen against their good ones.

THE Protestants take little Pains to propagate their Religion in *Mohammedan* Countries ; and as to the Popish Missionaries, whatever they may pretend, all their Efforts produce but little Fruits ; for which I pretend not to assign the Reasons, only I think it would contribute to their Success, if their Priests did not meddle with temporal Concerns, or endeavour, as they frequently do, to promote other Interests than those of Religion : If they applied themselves more to the Learned, than they commonly do, because all who are acquainted with the Oriental Countries know that there are Philosophers there, as well as in other Parts of the World ; and that many of these far from being prejudiced against the Christian Religion, are strongly inclined in its Favour, not from any exterior Impressions, but through the Effects of their own Reading and Observation : If they insisted more on the fundamental Points of the Christian Religion, such as the Nature of CHRIST's Mission, the perfect and eternal Rectitude of the Maxims of the Christian Faith, the clear Proofs that still remain of these Points being revealed by God, the superior Purity of the Gospel-Morality to that of the *Jewish* and *Mohammedan* System, the perfect Conformity between the Doctrines of CHRIST
and

and the Dictates of right Reason ; and above all, the Peace, Comfort, and Traquillity resulting from a Life led according to these Rules. If the less important Matters, and especially such as Difference one Christian Church from another, were never mentioned, it would not be the worse. And as to Popish Doctrines, they ought in common Prudence not to be taken notice of even by Papists, since they serve only to rivet these *Mohammedans* in their old Notions, for they will not be brought to apprehend why they should worship the Saints of other Countries, rather than their own : They think their own Fables about a middle State, as worthy of Belief as the Tales they hear about Purgatory. And as to the Authority of the *Pope*, they are frightened at the very Apprehension of it, believing his Claims to be much the same with those of their ancient *Caliphs*, on a Title far less clear. But of these Matters enough ; let me now return to the History of the *Mohammedan* Natives of this Country, their Religion, Government, and Learning, which when I have explained, I shall take my Leave of them, as having many other Subjects to consider.

It is not to be supposed that barely travelling through Countries inhabited by *Mohammedans*, should render a Man perfectly skill'd in the Theory and Practice of their Religion ; because we see plainly that travelling through *France* and *Italy*, doth not necessarily produce any competent Knowledge of the Sects, Religious Orders, or different Opinions in Religion embraced by the Inhabitants of those Countries. I say we see that bare Travelling produces nothing like this, but when joined with Reading, Observation, and Enquiry, it may. On this Ground I presume
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to speak of the Religion of *Mohammed*, having not only talked of it with those who professed it, but having also read the Book of its Author, and considered the Drift of his Design as impartially as I believe ever any Christian did; and on this Account it is very probable that what I shall say on this Subject, will not be altogether so reconcileable to what has been said about it already, as might be expected; but if it be not irreconcilable with Truth, differing from other Men will not give me much Concern.

WE are told by *Scharistani*, a very eminent *Arabian* Writer, that the Angel *Gabriel* appeared once to *Mohammed* in the Form of an *Arabian*, and besought him to declare in few Words what the Precepts were of that Religion which he pretended to deliver to the World; to which *Mohammed* answered thus, “ It consists in
 “ confessing that there is but one God, and in owning
 “ me for his Messenger; in fulfilling punctually the
 “ Precepts relating to Prayer, in giving Alms, in fasting
 “ during the Month of *Ramedan*, and, if it may be
 “ conveniently done, going in Pilgrimage to *Mecca*.” It must be acknowledged, that this is a very succinct, and at the same time a very exact Account of the Religion of *Mohammed*. The Belief of the first Proposition, and paying an exact Obedience to the other four Precepts, is all that is required to constitute a good *Mussulman*; but of these more particularly.

THE sole Article of Faith required by this Religion is believing in one God only, and that Mohammed is his Messenger. At first Sight there seems to be two Propositions contained in this Sentence, viz. that there is one God, and that Mohammed is his Prophet. The Learned
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ed among the *Arabs*, however, will not suffer this Distinction, and therefore we must hear how they explain it. God, say they, at all times hath preserved to himself a certain Number of true and faithful Servants, who have worshipped him as he ought to be worshipped, whilst the rest of Mankind walked in Darknes, and adored the Chimera's of their own distracted Imaginations. The Method by which God preserved his Beloved in the true Faith, was by sending them from Time to Time, Prophets to reveal to them his Will, and to expose such Errors as might by degrees creep in amongst them. At last, say they, he sent *Isa*, or *JESUS*, whom, as I have elsewhere shewn, the *Mohammedans* acknowledge to have been above all Prophets, who taught Men their Duty on Earth, and on what Terms they might hope to enter the Kingdom of Heaven ; but in Proceſs of Time the Christians suffering themselves to be misled by their Doctors, and giving generally into the Belief of the Trinity, (of which by the way the *Mohammedans* have very absurd Ideas) *Mohammed* was sent to revive the true Faith, by teaching, that there is but *one* God, *unalterable*, and *indivisible* in *Essence*, *unbegotten*, and *unbegetting*. Therefore, say they, believing in *one* God, and that *Mohammed* is his Messenger, is one and the same Proposition, because the *Unity* of the *Godhead* was the Message given to *Mohammed*, or in other Words, the Cause of his Mission.

HEREIN lies the great Strength of this Religion, and, without Question, nothing hath so much assisted its Propagation as the great Merit which its Propagators always take to themselves of being the sole Assertors of the *Unity* of the *Godhead* ; whereas the Christians, according to them, give him for *Partners* in *Power*, I use their
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own Expression, the *Son* and the Virgin *Mary*, for this is their general Notion of the *Trinity*. It must be owned, that they have made a very good Use of their obstinate Ignorance as to the Principles of other People's Religion. They alledge, that the *Magians* worship the Fire, and that the *Zabians* adore the Stars; though neither of these Nations do so, nor ever did, in the Sense the *Mohammedans* understand this Position. But as these are Foils which make their own Faith shine the brighter, they will not suffer them to be taken away, but treat *Jews*, *Christians*, and *Persees*, with the common Title of *Infidel*, though they all worship *one* God, as well as the Disciples of *Mohammed*.

THE Notions we have in *Europe*, that this Man was of mean Origin, void of Literature, and of gross Understanding, are utterly void of Foundation. The *Arabs*, as I have elsewhere said, are divided into Tribes; some more, some less noble, according to their Antiquity. Now *Mohammed* sprung from the *Coraisbites*, the most noble of them all. That his Circumstances were mean is true; but those who are acquainted with the *Arabian* History know that this was not Matter of Reproach in the Times in which he lived; on the contrary, the supporting of Poverty was with them a Mark of Magnanimity; and the two first *Caliphs* lived as poorly in all Respects as *Mohammed* himself, though they commanded vast Armies, and were Lords of great Provinces. As to his Genius, it was indisputable, vast and enterprising; and he was so far from being a rude and artless Person, that he was a Man of great Address, and one of the most powerful Speakers of his Time. It is true, that he calls himself a *simple*, or *idiot Prophet*, and
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that his Followers insist much upon this, but to what Purpose? Why, that they may make his mighty Gifts the pure Effects of Inspiration. But if this serves their Purpose, and they therefore make it an Article of their Faith, how are we obliged to believe it too? Or why should we not rather say that *Mohammed* having great natural and acquired Abilities, applied these to the framing of that System which he imposed upon his less intelligent Countrymen for a divine Revelation? Sure I am, that this is a more rational Account of the Matter than that which is usually given, nor can I be brought to believe that the Structure or Success of his Scheme is so very astonishing as we generally conceive it.

FOR first, as to the Materials from which his System was composed, they were easily collected by a Person who had spent his junior Years as *Mohammed* had done, in travelling and conversing with all Sorts and Degrees of People. He had by this Means the best Opportunity in the World for enquiring without the Cause of his Enquiry's being guessed at. Strangers are naturally inquisitive, and no-body suspects that a Stranger will turn Prophet; he might therefore prosecute with Ease whatever Discoveries he desired to make among the *Arabians*, *Persians*, and *Greeks*, with all of whom it is known that he had an intimate Correspondence. But if he had not, he might have had all he knew from the *Arabians* only; since at the Time he set himself up for a Prophet, some of the Tribes of that Nation were of the *Jewish*, some of the Christian Religion, but Hereticks; some of the *Persian* or *Magian* Faith, and others *Gentiles*. Out of all these Systems he might and did collect the Substance of his own. Circumcision was a Rite universally used
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in *Arabia*; this therefore he retained. All the historical Part of the Old Testament, which came to his Knowledge, he digested into his own Book, and thereby declared it sacred in his Opinion: Of CHRIST he spoke respectfully, but in the Language of a *Photinian*. And as to the Ceremonies which he established, either by his Writing or Practice, they were conformable enough to those used by the *Persians*, and *Gentiles*, especially those who worshipped at *Mecca*. So much for the Matter of his Religion.

Now as to the Manner in which he published, and by which he propagated it: It was so far from being without Example, that he had a very recent one, *viz.* that of *Mazdek*, the *Persian* Impostor, who either lived in, or but a very little before his Time. This Man, by brewing together *Magiism*, *Manicheism*, and *Libertinism*, produced an excellent new Religion, the Purity of which, amongst other Things, consisted in an absolute Community of Women, and an equal Distribution of Effects. This Prophet had not only the good Luck to find a Multitude of Followers, but also to mislead the King of *Persia*, and in a few Years made greater Strides than *Mohammed* did in all his Life. This Fellow too was but a Copyist after *Manes*, the famous Heretick, and therefore why *Mohammed*, who lived under the same King who put *Mazdek* to Death, should be held so potent in Invention, for playing his Tricks over again, I profess I cannot apprehend; nor do I see any thing incredible or unaccountable in what he performed, much less in what was performed by his Successors. For if he was a Hypocrite, They were but Enthusiasts; and that such Men at the Head of many Thousands like themselves

selves should be too hard for other People, is no stranger than that Madmen should be too hard for Folks in their Senses, because the latter can never suspect to what Lengths the former will go. Thus I am come back to the Point from whence I set out ; for it is certain that the Secret of *Mohammed* lay in persuading his Followers, that they were the true and only Worshippers of the Almighty, and consequently all the rest of Mankind his Enemies as well as theirs ; the fittest Doctrine imaginable for a Man who meant to argue as he did by the Sword, and to purchase *Dominion* in Right of *Grace*.

PREVIOUS to my Explication of the rest of the Precepts, I must speak of Washings, or Ablutions, which some call the first of the five Points which constitute a *Mussulman* ; yet I think improperly, because they were not superinduced by *Mohammed*, but were practised by his Countrymen long before his Time. These Washings are of three Sorts, the first preparatory to their Prayers, which is called *Abdest*, which I have Reason to think is an old *Persic* Word, and that the Ceremonies they use on this Occasion were originally borrowed from the *Persees*. However, be that as it will, their Method of performing them is this, They first wash their Hands and Arms, then the Neck, the Forehead, the Crown of the Head, the Ears, the Teeth, the Face, under the Nose, and their Feet ; but if either the Place or the Weather permit not this without great Inconveniency, then they content themselves with making a Semblance of doing so. The second Sort of Ablution is that performed after a Man hath conversed with a Woman^d ; and this is no more than Bathing, called *Gusur*. The third kind of Ablution is called *Taharet*, and is performed be-

fore Eating and after Evacuation. In all these they are very strict, seldom if ever neglecting them where it is possible for them to be performed.

As to their stated Prayers, they are performed five Times in twenty-four Hours. The first Time of Praying is between Day-break and Sun-rise. The second at Noon. The third at the middle Hour, between Noon and Sun-set. The fourth at Sun-set. And the fifth, an Hour and a half in the Night. They use abundance of Gestures in their Devotions, and are so very fervent in them, that if a Fire should break out in the Room, they will not break off. They are not tyed to exact Forms of Prayer, though the Heads or Substance of their Prayers are settled, and the People in general use Forms. One Thing is remarkable, that in the Grand Signior's Dominions they not only pray for his Health and Prosperity, but also that God would be pleased to send a Spirit of Discord and Dissension among his Enemies, to which they attribute all the Dissensions and Wars amongst the Christians, which it must be allowed are agreeable to, though to be sure they are not effected by their Petitions. They are so precise in this Article of Prayer, that if by any Accident they are disturbed therein so far as to wander in their Thoughts, they begin again, supposing that the smallest Absence of Mind abrogates all the Petitions they have made. Hence sneezing, or rubbing the Hand or the Neck where a Flea has bit, or turning the Head on a sudden Noise, vacates the Prayers that have been said before, and the Person to whom such an Accident has happened is obliged to begin again. They are no less exact as to the Time of praying, for wherever they are, in the Street, in the Market,

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or on the Road, they stop to offer their Devotions, and omit none of the Ceremonies usual in Praying on Account of their being in a Publick Place.

THE third Point is *Alms*, which they call *Zacah*, a Word derived from a Verb, signifying to purify, because, according to their Notion, a Man's Substance is purified by giving Alms out of it to the Poor. There is nothing of which we have so indefinite a Notion as of the Measure or Proportion by which, according to their Law, the *Mohammedans* are obliged to give Alms. Some of our Writers speak of a tenth, others say a hundredth Part. The Truth is, that they are commanded to give different Porportions of different Sorts of Goods, and are over and above charged to regard no Bounds in their Liberalities to the Poor. Hence it comes to pass, that many give the Third of what they are worth ; many a Fourth ; some have given half of what they were worth, once in their Life-time ; and there have been Instances of Men who have given all their Fortunes to the Poor, and liv'd ever after upon Alms themselves. To say the Truth, there are no People in the World among whom Poverty is so honourable as among the *Mohammedans*, who have a common Saying, *That the Fear of Want is a Mark of the Judgment of God*. They likewise say of a Person who makes a voluntary Profession of Poverty, that as he possesses nothing, he is possessed by nothing, by which they mean to suggest, that in the midst of his Poverty he is Master of the World, by reason of that Detachment from carnal Desires which he enjoys by Virtue of his Profession, which Desires, in their Opinion, make all other Men Slaves.

THE fourth Point is the keeping the Fast of *Rammdan*. This is no more than the Name of the *ninth Month* of the *Arab Year*. Anciently this always fell in Summer, but now, since the *Arab Year* is become perfectly lunar, it shifts and varies, and falls out in all Seasons. The Rule in Fasting is this: A Believer must not eat, drink, or converse with his Wife from the Time that the Sun rises, till such Time as the Stars appear, or the Lamps are hung out upon the Mosques, which is done during this Month, that the People may the better know when to take their Repasts. Of such indispensable Obligation is this Command held, that if a Man should openly break it, he would be punished with Death; neither are Travellers, sick or wounded Persons, exempt therefrom; but in case their Necessities oblige them to eat within that Month, then they are obliged to fast another entire Month in the Year to atone for it. Yet as there are among the *Mohammedans*, as well as amongst Christians, very many who desire to avoid such rigorous Restraints, they have found an easy Method of doing it without violating the Letter, and thereby exposing themselves to the secular Arm. They eat and drink plentifully in the Night, and divert themselves therein every other Way, going to bed as the Morning draws on, and sleeping the greatest Part of the Day. This is a *Turkish* Invention, and exceedingly abhorr'd by the sober Part of those who profess the *Religion* of *Mohammed*.

THE fifth Point, requisite to constitute a true Believer, according to the Doctrine of their Prophet, is the *Pilgrimage* to *Mecca*, which every Man who is free, and hath sufficient Ability, that is in respect to Riches, is commanded to undertake once in his Life. It is easy enough

enough to account for this Injunction, which certainly had no other than these two Motives. First, the Love which *Mohammed* bore to the Place of his Birth. And Secondly, the Desire he had to gratify his Countrymen the *Arabians* in their extraordinary Fondness for the *Square Temple at Mecca*. This holy Place, which the *Arabs* call *Cabah*, was certainly a very antient Structure, and had served for the chief Place of Worship for all the several Religions, or rather Superstitions, which in a long Succession of Ages had been embraced by this Nation; in the Inside thereof there was a *black Stone*, and *two* Golden Images, which were presented, as some Writers say, by a King of *Persia*, and as others say, by an *Arab* Prince. These were both Objects of high Veneration, tho' I dare not say of idolatrous Worship, because it is with me a great Doubt, whether ever these *Eastern* People were, in the proper Sense of the Word, Idolaters; for if they worshipp'd the heavenly Bodies, or any *Telestetick* Images, as Representations of the supreme God of Heaven and Earth, then I am afraid we must exempt them from the Imputation of *Idolatry*, or extend that Term so as to take in some who look upon themselves to be the only good Christians.

THE *Mohammedans* tell us a very notable Story concerning the Building, Consecration, and Holiness of this same Temple. In the first Place, they are positive that *Hagar* was not the Concubine, but the Wife of *Abraham*, and dearly beloved by him: They acknowledge, however, her Flight into the *Desert*, with her Son *Ismael*; and they affirm, that it was in the Neighbourhood of *Mecca* they fixed themselves after their Flight. Here

Abraham came to visit his Son; and that he might have an Oratory wherein to offer his Prayers to God, he counselled him to build this Square Temple, and assisted him in the Work. It was as it still is, a very rude and contemptible Structure, standing due East and West, And though it is called a Square, yet its Length is four and twenty Ells, and its Breadth from North to South but twenty-three. In this Temple *Abraham* placed the mysterious black Stone whereon it is said he found *Hagar* sitting when he first embraced her; and having established his eldest Son *Ishmael* in the firm Possession of *Arabia*, fixed this Place for the Worship of the true G O D, whence, say they, it came to be revered by the Dependants of *Ishmael*, and to be held the most noble and valuable Part of their Possessions.

IN Process of Time, however, they were deprived of it, and it passed into the Hands of another Tribe. The *Ishmaelites* kept up their Claim, and at last, by Force, re-acquired the Protection of this holy Place. The Enemy, however, carried off the black Stone and Golden Images, and threw them into the Pit *Zemzem*, where they remained for a long Series of Ages, but at last were discovered by the Grandfather of *Mohammed*, who had for that Purpose an express Revelation from Heaven, as he very positively affirmed; so that *Mohammed* was not the first of his Family who took upon him the Character of a Prophet. The Religion of the *Arabs*, when *Mohammed* attempted to set up himself for a Person divinely inspired was Deism corrupted, that is, mingled with heathenish and Pagan Rites, of which, however, the *Cabab* was the Centre. Thither the People resorted to worship, and there they did Worship
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with great Formality, and with Abundance of Ostentatious Ceremonies, most of which *Mohammed* preserved, and brought into his Religion, obliging the People who professed it not only to this Pilgrimage, but also to turn their Faces towards it, that is, towards the Point of the Compass regarding it, as often as they pray'd, in what Part of the World soever they were. This Honour was by no Means of *Mohammed's* Invention, but taken from the Practice of the *Jews* and *Persians*, who were wont to turn their Faces when they worshipped, the one to the *East*, and the other to the *West*, which Ceremony is in *Arabick* stiled, *Al. Keblah*, and is one of the main Points of Distinction in the Religions of the *East*. Thus much for the Reasons inducing *Mohammed* to stamp such extraordinary Marks of Respect on the City and Temple of *Mecca*.

LET us now return to the Pilgrimage, which, as an essential Point of their Religion, is punctually comply'd with by the *Mohammedans* of *Asia* and *Africk*. Such as come from the middle Provinces of the Grand Signior's Dominions, assemble at *Damascus*, the *Persian* Pilgrims at *Babylon*; those from *Africk*, at *Cairo*. They draw, however, All into one Body, on a certain Mountain near that City, to which they go in solemn Procession, leaving behind them their Christian Slaves, lest they should pollute this *Holy Place*.

It may not be amiss to observe, that in this, as well as in other Things, the wiser *Mohammedans* have Notions far enough removed from those of the People; for Instance, though they look upon the Pilgrimage to *Mecca* as a Point of indispensable Necessity, yet they stick not to spiritualize it, and to affirm, their Prophet instituted

it, to put them in mind, that Life itself is but a Pilgrimage, wherein we ought always to have our immortal State in View, which they conceive to be figured by the Holy Temple at *Mecca*, and therefore they do not place the Efficacy of this Pilgrimage in barely travelling so far, in kissing as they are wont to do the black Stone, or in performing the other Ceremonies annexed to that Act of Devotion, but in performing all this with a right Mind, that is, with a penitent Heart, and a just Sense of the Contemptibleness of carnal Things, compared with those spiritual and eternal. Thus I finish my Commentary on the five Points of the Law of *Mohammed*, which I hope sufficiently demonstrates that they are not either so crude and so absurd as some Men would make them, or so politick, so refined, so perfectly of the Prophet's Invention as they are made to be by others, but of a mixt Nature, and such as a wise Man will behold without Contempt or Admiration.

I HAVE heard it often alledged, both in *England* and in *Italy*, that the *Mohammedans* were more united in their Sentiments, and more constant in the Profession of their Faith than Christians; but this I am very confident is said without the least Foundation. I cannot indeed affirm, that the Controversies among them are more in Number than amongst us; but I can truly say, that I believe it impossible to compute the Number of Controversies amongst either. In all Revealed Religion there are many things hard to be understood; and indeed there must be so, for if they were self-evident, they could not be the Subject of Divine Revelation; and these Points are alike Grounds of Debate amongst *Mohammedans* as well as *Christians*. For example, the
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Questions relating to *Predestination* and *free Grace* have been agitated among the *Arab* Doctors, with as much Heat and Vehemence as ever they were in *Christendom*. If we have *Pietists*, or Professors of mystical Divinity, so have they; nor have there been wanting *Mohammedan Quakers*, who supposing themselves above all Ordinances, have acted according to the Dictates of what they call the Spirit, and have been looked upon by Men of Understanding, as a sort of *grave Infidels*.

MANY of the best *Persian* and *Arabian* Poets have been suspected of *Christianism*, and many more of *Atheism*; but the common Name for impious Persons is *Zendik*, which I take it strictly belongs to those who assert the Eternity of the World, and are properly speaking *Materialists* or *Naturalists*. Such as exclude all Ideas of spiritual Substance, and conceive that all Beings whatsoever have an innate Power of producing what we see them produce, without deriving it from any other. Tho' there are many who are secretly in these Sentiments, yet there are a very few only, who either privately or publicly acknowledge any Thing like them. The Reason is, because the Government would speedily take Notice of it; for the *Turks* judge rightly, that such Men as are loose in Principles of Religion, are not fast Friends or good Subjects to any Government whatever. Among the *Arabs* a sort of enthusiastic Piety prevails, and those who are perfectly acquainted with their Language, are extremely edified with this Spirit and Fervour of their Devotions. But the most rational Books of Devotion have been written by *Persians* who have a more calm and courtly Stile, and less of that ecstatic Rapture which is so productive of Obscurity.

rity. On the whole, tho' the Religion of *Mohammed* rather declines than increases, yet it still possesses the best Part of the habitable World, under the four great Empires of the *Grand Seignior*, the *Shah* of *Persia*, the *Great Mogul*, and the Emperor of *Morocco*, besides the numberless petty Princes in *Arabia*, the *East-Indies*, and the inland Parts of *Africa*. I have now fulfilled all that I proposed to myself to say on the Head of Religion, and shall turn next to the Government of *Egypt*, especially as it stands at this Day.

I HAD some Thoughts of writing a succinct History of the successive Changes in Government which have happened in *Egypt*, from the Time it was first peopled, to the Conquest thereof by *Selim* Emperor of the *Turks*; but having never had Time enough to compare and translate the Materials necessary for such a Work, I contented myself with throwing together some Observations on the different Masters of *Alexandria*, which I have elsewhere inserted in these Memoirs, and shall here confine myself to the present State of *Egypt*, under the *Turkish* Government. Previous however to this, I will set down something concerning the *Mamalukes*; because from what I have read in our *European* Historians, I have been induced to think, that we have very confused, if not false Notions concerning this People.

THE Word *Mamlouck*, for so it ought to be spelt, signifies a *Slave*, the Plural of this is *Memalik*, or *Slaves*, and this is the proper Appellation of the People of whom we are speaking. They were truly such, but not *Christian*, or born of Christian Parents, as we have been made to believe; on the contrary, the *Tartars* were at that Time so powerful as to ravage all *Asia*, and these

these poor Creatures were strong able bodyed *Turks*, whom they seized and sold to *Al Malek Ajoub* Sultan of *Egypt*. He made use of them at first to guard the outer Courts of his Palace, and as their Numbers, and the Reputation of their Fidelity encreased, he not only fixed them in *Cairo*, but also placed Garrisons of them in most of his Maritime Places. He dying left the Crown to his Son, who was so fortunate in War, as to take Prisoner in Battle St. *Lewis* King of *France*. Yet neither his Valour nor the many Virtues he possessed, could preserve him from being murdered by these Slaves of his, not without the Participation of a Person who ought to have protected him. This Person was his Mother, whose Name was *Schagredar*, who was also a *Turk*, and commencing an Intrigue with *Ibek* the General of this Militia, for so they were now become, consented that he should dispatch her Son, and jointly with her assume the regal Dignity, which accordingly he did, in the Year of the *Hegira* 648, according to our Account, in the Year of our Lord 1250.

He did not however long enjoy that Power which he had so basely usurped; the same ambitious Woman destroyed him too, but the Crown was preserved to his Posterity. This is the History of the first *Mamalukes*, who from their having the Custody of the Sea Ports, were stiled *Maritime*, or *Sea Mamalukes*. The Princes of this Race to secure themselves more effectually against foreign Invaders, and Domestick Treasons, instituted a new Militia, composed of young *Circassians*, bred up in the great Cities of *Egypt*, where they were taught all sorts of Exercises, and were intended to do the same Service to these *Sultans* as the *Grand Seignior* expects from

from his Janizaries. But they copying the Behaviour of their Masters, suddenly rebelled against the Prince who had settled and disciplined them, and quickly deprived him of Life and Crown. These were the second Race of *Mamalukes*, and called themselves by Way of Distinction *Inland Mamalukes*. These were they who were conquered by the *Turks* under the fortunate *Sultan Selim*, about the Year 1517, and were the last independent Princes in *Egypt*. That Country having been since that Time only a Province of the *Turkish* Empire.

THE supreme Governor of this great Kingdom is generally stiled the *Bassa* of *Cairo*, on Account of his Residence in that City. He is always honoured with the Title of *Vizir*, and, next that of the *Vizir Azem*, it is the first Employment in the Gift of the *Grand Seignior*. It is seldom obtained but by Bribery, a Thing so customary at the *Porte*, that it is no way scandalous. Before a Man sets out for this Government it costs him fifty, sixty, or seventy Thousand Pounds. When he arrives in *Egypt* he finds himself invested with all the Ensigns of Authority and absolute Power, which the proudest Mind can wish, but it depends entirely on his own Prudence, whether he shall enjoy any more than the outward Appearance of all this Authority, as will be hereafter seen. The *Grand Seignior's* Tribute consists annually of 600,000 *Sequins* in ready Gold, which is sent at the Expence of the *Bassa*, who likewise furnishes to the *Seraglio* Coffee, Sugar, Sherbets, and *Indian* Commodities nearly to the same Value. Besides this the *Bassa* furnishes all the Expences the *Grand Seignior* is at in sending the two Caravans of *Cairo* and *Damascus*

Damascus to Mecca, and he is likewise charged with the Civil and Military Appointments of all who are in the Service of the *Grand Seignior* within the Bounds of his Government. To defray all this, and to enable him to maintain Spies and Protectors in the *Serail*, he is allowed to take and receive without Account all the Revenues belonging to the *Grand Seignior*, which amount to an immense Sum. He is never appointed for any longer than a Year, yet is seldom removed from his Government in less than three, and some have remained there longer, but every Year's Continuance costs a hundred thousand Crowns in Presents, without which there is nothing to be done.

His Residence is in the Castle of *Cairo*, where he holds his *Divan* with greater Pomp and Splendor than the *Grand Seignior* himself at *Constantinople*. He hath about his Person and in his Councils all the great Officers usually attendant on a Court, such as a *Kiajah*, or great Steward, *Reis Effendi*, or Chancellor, *Testadar*, or Treasurer, &c. Under him he has twenty-four *Bey*s or *Sanjacks*, who govern so many Provinces, tho' their Number is seldom compleat; and to these People he sells their Governments, which is one Method of acquiring Money, and no inconsiderable one; besides which they pay an annual Tribute, and keep up a Body of Militia at their own Expence. These *Bey*s command only the open Country, for almost every great Village is an independent Government possessed by a *Chek* or *Cheik*. So much for the Civil Administration. As to the Military Force, it consists in different Bodies of Troops, all independent of each other, and which is still more singular, independent of the *Bassa*. The *Azaphs* or *Asaphs*,
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are a Body of Infantry consisting of above five thousand effective Men, under the Command of Officers chosen from among themselves. They are looked upon as much inferior to the *Janizaries*, and on that Account there is an inexpressible Enmity between them. The *Spahis* are Corps of Cavalry, consisting of three Regiments, distinguished by the Titles of the Green, the Yellow, and the Red, each Regiment consisting of a thousand effective Men. They are commanded by a *Kiajah*, and as they are independent of the other Corps, so they mortally hate the *Asaphs*, and the *Janizaries*. The *Bachouchs* are also certain Corps of Infantry, destined to various Services, consisting of three Regiments, each of five hundred Men. Lastly, the *Janizaries*, consisting of seven thousand effective Men, and about as many more nominal only; they are commanded in Chief by a *Kiajah*, whom they chuse when they think fit, and also depose when they think fit; he is absolutely independent of the *Bassa*, and in some Measure or the *Grand Seignior*, for without the Consent of the Council of Officers, neither he nor any private *Janizary* can be put to Death, notwithstanding the *Sultan's* express Order.

It is not easy to frame an Idea of the mighty Power of this Militia, but one may have some Notion of it from hence, that the whole Business of the *Bassa* of *Cairo* is to contrive Ways and Means to balance the Authority of the *Janizaries* by that of the *Spahis*, and the rest of the Troops, which he is sometimes unable to do, and so is deposed and imprisoned. The *Janizaries* are no less Tyrants in respect to the People, so that purely to escape their Vexations, many rich Merchants
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inroll themselves in their Order, for which they pay considerably at their Admittance, and are subject to Contributions all their Life time after, on one Pretence or other; besides at their Demise all they have goes to the Order, which is the Heir general of all its Members, a Thing monstrous, and almost inconceivable. When any Person who has the Reputation of being rich, and who was not a *Janizary* dies, the Order have as fair a Title to his Effects, for they have a false *Muste-Roll*, into which they put the Names of such as they would be glad to have of their Order, and a little hard swearing and a Present to the *Bassa*, makes this as authentick as a Decree from the *Mufti*. If the *Beys* are at any Time upon bad Terms with the *Bassa*, they do not indeed inroll themselves *Janizaries*, but they put themselves under the Protection of the Order, which is the same Thing, for they are effectually covered let their Crimes have been what they will. The *Asaphs* and *Spahis* have likewise found the Sweets of this Method, so that where a Man has the Will and the Power of bribing, Justice must keep at a Distance from him, and the *Bassa* with all his Parade of Sovereign Authority must be content to wink at him, tho' he should be as notorious a Criminal as himself. This Expression must seem very general, and to imply very little less, than that all the *Turkish* Governors are Men given to Fraud and Rapine; and truly I believe that most People who have resided in that Country, will be ready to confess this Character general and unguarded as it is, not very far wide of Truth; however I am content to restrain it as much as I may, by confessing that there really are *Bassas* of a different Character, Men of Honour and Generosity,

Generosity, Lovers of Justice, and inclined to make the People happy ; but then this does not at all contradict what I have said, since their Governments are not a Grain more advantageous to themselves, or beneficial to the People, but on the contrary produce new Inconveniencies to both.

PROBITY is not only rarely seen amongst the Great at *Cairo*, but it is also absolutely inconsistent with their Authority, nor can there possibly be a virtuous Administration in *Egypt*, Oppression and Tyranny runs thro' the whole System of Rule, and all Attempts to introduce Humanity, and other opposite Virtues, are considered as so many Violations of the Constitution. The *Beys* and the *Cheiks* live magnificently, and amass Fortunes by plundering the Country People, the *Janizaries*, *Spahis*, and *Azaps* live at their Ease, by pillaging those in Town. The *Bassa* hath vast Demands to satisfy, and in order to have wherewith to satisfy them, it is most evident that he must plunder too; a Disposition to do this puts him upon a Par with his Neighbours, and as many of them may want his Assistance, they are glad to afford him theirs. Hereby a Method is opened to him of acquiring that Authority which he ought to receive from his Commission, his Skill in balancing Parties, and preserving the casting Vote to himself, may enable him to answer all the Charges of his Government, and even to gain a Fortune for himself; but an appearance of Honour and Virtue, the being known to have a Disposition of doing Justice, immediately unites the most inveterate Enemies, and engages them to turn all the Bitterness which they exercise towards each other, upon him as upon the common Foe.

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THIS is the true Sense of that Divine Adage of our Saviour's, *The Children of this World are wiser than the Children of Light.* For tho' it be true, that all just and good Men are allied to each other, that an Injury done to one, is an Injury done to them all, because it is an Injury done to that System of Rule which they support; yet they do not readily perceive this, or when they do, they are not wont to unite with Vigour, in order to redress the Grievance sustained; and so Vice and Folly gain upon them by Degrees, till at last Resistance is vain, and Redress becomes impossible. It is not so with wicked and unjust Men, their Interest here is their sole Concern, and they are wise enough to know that what prejudices one Man's worldly Interest, will also prejudice another's. Self-Interest therefore teaches them Union, and they act in a bad Cause, with a Prudence and Spirit which would do them the highest Honour if they were engaged in a good one.

BUT it may be enquired why the *Grand Seignior* winks at these Disorders; Disorders so dishonourable to his Sovereign Authority, and so apparently prejudicial to his Finances. The Reason of this too is easily understood, for he acts upon the same Principles with his *Fanizaries* and *Bassa's*, and is so far from looking upon this State of Things as destructive to his Interest, that he considers it as the sole Support thereof. A few Words will suffice to explain this Mystery. The *Bassa* rules *Egypt* by balancing Parties which would be infinitely too strong for him if they were united, the *Grand Seignior* preserves *Egypt*, by allowing the Power of the People to balance the Authority of the *Bassa*. Union and Tranquillity amongst his Subjects is the only Thing he fears;

for in such a Case he apprehends that one of these two Evils would certainly follow, that his *Bassa* would become a Sovereign Prince, by throwing aside his Allegiance, or the People would expel him, and secure their own Freedom, by chusing a Prince from among themselves. Diffension, Bloodshed, and Oppression, are therefore suffered, or rather maintained by the *Sultan*, that he may secure his Revenue, and the Dependence of *Egypt*; they are permitted and promoted by the *Bassa's*, because they are subservient to their Authority; they are exercised by the several Corps of Militia, because they are this Way supported without Labour.

Thus do Men out-do Wolves, for they not only prey, but prey on each other, and that without Necessity. Here is the Thing that affrights weak Minds, when by Chance they discover these Things, or learn them as Discoveries from others; they immediately cast the Blame upon Providence, and are on the Point of turning Infidels, because they have not Sense enough to discern the Divine Wisdom. A Man would be laughed at, who pretended to quarrel with his Maker for not having created an Ox, an Ass, or a Horse, a Hog. And yet this Objection is the same Thing, for it is quarrelling with God, because he has created Men, Men, and not Brutes; because he has given them Reason as well as Senses, and a Power of attaining intellectual Happiness, which they could not have had if their Nature had been otherwise constituted than it is. We do not suppose a Farm-house equal to a Palace, tho' we stand in the yard of one, and see the other at three or four Miles distance; but a vicious Man prefers the Hogsty of this World to the Paradise promised hereafter, meerly because

because it is nearer; and therefore is as much a Fool in this Case, as he would be if he acted in the same manner in that. But shall we blame God for this, and not ourselves? Shall we believe it just for us to merit, and unjust for him to punish? What Equity is there in this? Or what difference is there between our talking at this Rate, and our affirming that the Author of our Reason has less Reason than we have ourselves?

BUT it is now Time to come to the Learning of this People, of which I promised to speak, and of which there is much to be said, and of which I flatter myself I can say somewhat not altogether beside the Purpose. The Learning of *Egypt* ought in my Opinion, to be divided into the Learning of the ancient *Egyptians* before they were conquered by the *Affyrians* and *Persians*, and the Learning of the Modern *Egyptians*, which I confess might with greater Propriety, be called the Learning of the *Arabians*. However, as both are distinct enough from the Learning of *Europe*, it may not be altogether amiss to give a general Account of both, the rather because many who have spoken on these Points have done it without any tolerable Comprehension of what they intended to explain, and in Terms so immethodical and obscure, as served rather to confound than enlighten their Readers. After having spoke so freely of others, I cannot expect to escape Censure myself, but if I deserve it, it shall not be in the same Way with my Predecessors, I will at least have the Merit of attempting to treat this Affair in a rational Way, and not endeavour to pass a Declamation on the Wisdom of the *Egyptians*, upon the less knowing Perusers, for an Account of the *Egyptian* Learning; much less will I at-

tempt to impose my own Conjectures for the revived Fragments of that Science, the Veneration due to which hath been too often diverted to such false Relicks. I think it may be laid down as a self evident Maxim, *That Knowledge was there first perfected, where Men were first settled.* For it is natural for the human Race to seek first Safety, then Necessaries, next Conveniences, and by Degrees Instruments of Luxury. Now as none of these can be had without Invention, Reasoning, and Industry, it follows that Knowledge and Learning must encrease gradually, and must have come to Perfection first, in the first Plantation of Mankind. All Histories Sacred and Prophane, agree that *Egypt* was very early planted; and therefore it is reasonable to believe, that Learning was very early established in *Egypt*. We ought therefore to give Credit to those Accounts we meet with in the most early Writers of the Knowledge of the *Egyptians*, tho' I do not think that those Writers are always to be depended upon, in what they tell us of the Learning of the *Egyptians*; for tho' this People might be very knowing, yet their Neighbours might have but confused and imperfect Ideas of their Knowledge. This I take to be very reasonable, and am thoroughly persuaded, that it is Matter of Fact. After this previous Admonition, I will proceed to speak, First of the Fame of the *Egyptian* Learning, and secondly of its Extent. We are told by *Moses*, that when *Abraham* went down into *Egypt*, he found that Kingdom perfectly well settled, and was received there with much Civility and Politeness. It does not however appear, at least to me, that there was any material difference between the Religion of *Abraham*, and the Religion then professed

professed in *Egypt*. I say material difference, for I do not think that the Religion of *Abraham* and his Household, was exactly the same with that of *Egypt*; because if it had, there would have been no Occasion for the *Revelations* made to that *Patriarch*, but I suppose that the *Egyptians* still worshipped one God, tho' it might be with a Mixture of Superstition, which in a short Time degenerated into Idolatry. *Josephus* informs us, that the Father of his Nation found the *Egyptians* much inclined to Learning, but not excellent therein, and that he was extremely caressed for his superior Knowledge, and for the Discoveries he made known to them in various Sciences. All this is perfectly probable, for *Abraham* being by Birth a *Chaldean*, and *Chaldea* according to *Moses*, being the first Peopled Country in the World, Learning must have become perfect there before it could be so in *Egypt*, and indeed there is great Authority to prove, as well as the highest Reason to believe, that the Progress of Learning was from *Chaldea* to *Egypt*, and from thence to the Western Parts of the World. When *Joseph* went down into this Country, of which we are speaking, he found Things much altered, as we may well conceive they might be in the Space of two hundred Years. The *Egyptian* Monarch kept then a regular and magnificent Court, the Religion of the *Egyptians* was then quite new moulded, and the Learning of *Egypt* was held in very high Esteem. We see too what sort of Learning that was, what were the principal Causes, Inclinations, and Arts of Policy among the Great in that Kingdom. It is from this History, I mean the History of *Joseph* as written by *Moses*, that we have the best and plainest

Account of the ancient State of *Egypt*, and therefore whoever would prosecute the Story of this Nation at large, ought to study this Part of the *Mosaic* Writings carefully, and to prefer what he discovers there from to all that can be learned from *Herodotus*, *Diadorus Siculus*, or the Fragments of *Manetho*; because setting aside his Inspiration, *Moses* according to the strictest Laws of Criticism, is by far a more authentick Writer than any of these, as being much nearer the Times of which he wrote, and having much better Opportunities of knowing the *Egyptian* Affairs than any of those Writers could possibly have. It is recorded of this great Man, I mean *Moses*, that he was versed in all the Learning of *Egypt*, and this was no doubt intended to fill up his Character, as a wise and knowing Man, before he received the Sanction of a prophetic Mission, and had his Mind illuminated by divine Inspiration. All that he says of himself is so humble, and all that is said of him by the rest of the sacred Writers, is so general, as well as concise, that it is not easy to speak with any Degree of Certainty of the Sciences wherein he was instructed while he lived in *Egypt*: However as he was educated in the Royal Family, there can be no Ground to question his having a thorough and perfect Idea, as well of the hidden as of the open Literature of *Egypt*, which was a Distinction begun so very early, that there is Reason to believe it had commenced before his Time. If we were to take in, under the Notion of assured Commentaries on the sacred Text, what hath been written on the Life of *Moses* by *Josephus* and *Philo*, then we should be able to speak very explicitly; but they write so apparently in the *Greek* Stile, that is in the Stile of

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Conjecture, that for my own Part, tho' I have a high Opinion of both their Judgments, yet I cannot bring myself to rely upon the Authority of either. But tho' *Moses* hath not left us any Account of the Learning of *Egypt*, we may find in his Writings a great Variety of Facts which have a Reference thereto, and from which we may conclude, that it was both solid and extensive, as I shall have Occasion to shew in the Prosecution of this Discourse.

In the Time of *Solomon*, *Egypt* was in the very Zenith of her Glory, and this it was that induced that wise and magnificent Prince to desire to ally himself to its Monarch, by whose Assistance he reduced one of the Maritime Cities of the *Philistines*, or rather had it given him by the King of *Egypt*, when he had taken and burnt it with Fire, which shews that the *Egyptians* were then very perfect in the Art of War. In the Reign of *Rehoboam*, *Shishak* made a perfect Conquest of his Kingdom, that is as perfect a Conquest as he made of any Kingdom, for he pretended to no more than honorary Tribute, and an Acknowledgment of his being *Lord Paramount*, as we speak. This *Shishak* was the *Sesostris* of the *Greeks*, and the only great Conqueror who reigned in *Egypt*, if we except *Osiris*, and the rest of the fabulous Heroes. The sacred Historians of succeeding Reigns speak very frequently of the *Egyptians*, their Knowledge, Industry, and Prowess; and it must be confessed even by such as would dispute their divine Authority, that the Accounts we have from these Writers are the most consistent, the most rational, and the most useful that are any where to be met with.

As to the Fame of the *Egyptian* Learning among the *Greeks*, it is impossible to conceive any Thing greater or more illustrious than it was. The Founders of the States and of the Religion of *Greece* were all either *Egyptians* or Persons who boasted of their being versed in the Learning of the *Egyptians*. Their greatest Poets celebrated that Kingdom as the Region of Science: The wisest of their Legislators acknowledged themselves indebted for their Abilities in that sublime Art, to the Instructions they had received, and the Observations they had made in the Country we are speaking of. Their best Historians affected nothing so much as the recording the Exploits of this People, and endeavouring to set their Histories in a clear Light, as the *Greek* Philosophers never pretended to disown their being indebted to the *Egyptians* for the Rudiments at least of all that Knowledge which they taught their Disciples. I might have quoted in Support of what I have been saying, the Writings of *Homer*, *Herodatus*, *Diodorus Siculus*, *Plutarch*, and above all *Aristotle* and *Plato*, with the rest of the *Greek* Writers of Eminence, who all agree in affirming, that the *Egyptians* were a most learned and knowing People. Here therefore I rest that Evidence which I think sufficient to prove, that the Fame of the *Egyptian* Wisdom was great and universal, and consequently such as deserves Credit. But as I before remarked, tho' the Reputation of the *Egyptian* Learning may well be understood by the Accounts given of it by the *Greeks*, yet can we gather but a very imperfect and indifferent Idea thereof, from the Particulars they have been pleased to communicate,

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SOME of them, such as the Poets, and miscellaneous Writers, mention it occasionally, or partially, as it suits with their Subjects. Others, as Historians and Antiquarians, insist upon it; but then they are so concise on such Heads of the *Egyptian* Science as they understood, and so diffuse on those Points which they confessed they did not understand, that one is frequently astonished, but very seldom enlightned by what they say. Hence it is that the fabulous History of *Egypt*, as the *Greeks* have given it to us, is the most unintelligible Jumble of Absurdities that ever appeared. We are indeed told in Excuse of this, that the *Egyptian* Priests did not only do their utmost to conceal the History and Antiquities of their Nation from Strangers, but even took a Pleasure in imposing on them, and in passing on them romantic Stories, and ridiculous unintelligible Allegories, for grand Secrets, and the hidden Mysteries of their sacred and civil Institutions. To believe therefore in the Gross all that the *Greeks* have told us is irrational, and must lead us into Error, and to reject the whole would be to own an absolute Ignorance, and a Despair of being better informed. The middle Road therefore is in this, as in most other Cases the safest; and we ought to believe that the *Egyptians* were well versed in all the Sciences, and that what is excellent and worthy of a wise People, in the Accounts given of them by the *Greeks*, ought to be esteemed just and authentick; whereas all Things mean and trivial, that are found mixt in these Accounts, ought to be looked upon as spurious, and the Effects of the Author's Credulity or Boldness.

I AM now come to the second Head I proposed, that is, the real Extensiveness of the ancient *Egyptian* Learning;

Learning ; and in Support of this I shall offer Facts only, having already placed all Authorities on this Subject under the former Head. As to the Knowledge of the ancient *Egyptians* in Theology, I am persuaded it was very great. Nor can I bring my self to believe that any of the Fables which are attributed to the *Egyptians* were believed by them, that is, strictly and literally. On the contrary, I am convinced that they were allegoric Systems of natural Mysteries, and that we have the true Keys of very few of them. As to that Division which I heretofore mention'd of *hidden* and *open* Divinity, I will not hide my Suspicion, that as the *open* Divinity consisted in downright Idolatry, so the *hidden*, which was in very few Hands, did not fall much short of the true Religion, that is to say, it consisted in knowing that the popular Religion was made up of Types and Shadows, and that the true Worship of God consisted in acknowledging his Unity, and in doing Good to his Creatures. Neither do I conceive that this *hidden* Divinity was peculiar to the *Egyptians*, but that it was known to the Legislators of most of the heathen Nations, and that the Discoveries they sometimes made of it to their favourite Disciples gave Rise to those Suspicions of Atheism, which we find so rudely fixed upon them by Writers who were zealous, or affected to be zealous for the *Vulgar Faith*.

I SHOULD very willingly enter into the Detail of the Reasons which have not only led me to, but confirmed me in this Opinion, were this a proper Place. But inasmuch as such an Account would take up a great deal of Room, and lead me into many Digressions, I will content my self for the present with observing, that if in
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the Sequel of this Discourse I shall prove that in other Respects the ancient *Egyptians* were a well-governed, wise, polite, and industrious People, then it ought to be inferr'd, that the best of them had rational and consistent Notions in Religion, and that even the People were not so stupid as to believe a Religion altogether without Art or Contrivance, which would have been certainly the Case, if the Religion of the *Egyptians* had been really such a one as many of the *Greek* and *Latin* Writers represented. To this I will add, that the Ridicule so freely play'd by these Writers upon the *Egyptian* Religion, is a strong Presumption that they were not right in their Sentiments about it; for how can we believe that those who were the Masters of the *Greeks* in all their Sciences, as they again were of the *Romans*, should fall so miserable short of them in this first and most important of all Sciences? But to pass from Religion to Government.

THIS seems to have been the Glory of the People of whom we are now speaking; and the Accounts we have of it are so far from being obscure, that they are sufficient to prove this Nation the wisest of any in the World in the Settlement of its Constitution, and the most happy in its Effects. As to the Form of Rule which prevailed in *Egypt*, it was that of *Monarchy*. The ancient Kings of *Egypt* were stiled *Pharaohs*, which was a Name of Dignity, and followed by the proper Name of the Prince, as *Pharaoh Hophra*, *Pharaoh Neco*. He was stiled absolute, and he might be absolute if he pleased. Yet there was a Table of Rules for the Conduct of the King, which descended to the minutest Points. Such as the Time of his Rising,
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his Meals, and the Hours of his Diversions, to which he usually submitted, not only in Conformity to his Predecessors, but because he knew that though he was above all Men during his Life, yet he should not fail to be judged after he was dead by his People. This was the sole Limitation, if it may be so called, under which an *Egyptian* Monarch lay. He was daily admonished by the Priests, but in a distant and respectful Way; and as soon as he was dead, certain Officers, appointed by the People, commenced a Suit against his Reputation, wherein, with great Freedom, they examined all his Actions; and if on a fair Trial the People condemned him, then his Corps was not interred with Funeral Solemnity, an Evil of all others most dreaded by the ancient *Egyptians*. This Custom the *Israelites* carried with them from hence, and preserved it very carefully, as appears from the several Memorandums we meet with in the *Chronicles*, concerning the Burials of the Kings of *Judah*, which are exactly conformable to this *Egyptian* Law.

As to the People, they had their Properties exactly secured to them, were all divided into certain Classes, and each Class had its Trade or Profession, in which Men were bred from Father to Son, and out of which they could not possibly be removed. By this Regulation all Professions were alike cultivated; and though they were not alike honourable, yet were none of them esteemed base or mean. The Priests and Soldiers were particularly esteemed. The former were not only the Ministers of the Gods, but the Counsellors of their Kings, and had thereby a very great Power; whence in all Probability it came to pass that the ancient *Egyptians* were addicted rather to Peace than to War: Yet we must

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must not suppose that they were then what the modern *Egyptians* are, a timid and effeminate Race of People, altogether averse to military Discipline, and incapable of Hardship; for their Militia, on the contrary, was the very best in the World, and their Cavalry especially, capable of performing Wonders. But the Love of their Country abated their martial Ardour, and made them content to think that distinguishing themselves in defensive Wars was not only a just, but a sufficient Title to military Praise, that is, to so much of this Sort of Reputation as they desired. But the History and Polity of this People, their Power, their Wealth, and their Magnificence, are not expressly the Subjects of this Discourse, but come in occasionally, as Proofs of their Wisdom. The Constitution of *Egypt* was such, as joined to the natural Fertility and Beauty of the Country made the People both happy and satisfied, which was the Reason, that though the Love of Glory induced them to march under the Command of the great *Sesostris*, to the Conquest of all the Countries between the *Ganges* and the *Danube*, yet they affected not to retain any of the Provinces they subdued, but contented themselves with Tribute, Acknowledgments of Sovereignty, and erecting strong and lasting Monuments to perpetuate the Remembrance of their Victories.

AFTER this, they enjoyed a long and uninterrupted Peace, which they spent in adorning their Country, and in rendering habitable those Wastes and Deserts which now through Want of Care are become as inhospitable as ever. To say the Truth, the Cities, Publick Buildings, Royal Sepulchres, Pyramids, and other Monuments, are the clearest and most indisputable
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Proofs of the Knowledge, as well as the Publick Spirit of this Nation. The Accounts we have in the ancient Historians of the Wonders of the ancient *Thebes*, may, for ought I know, be fabulous ; but the Ruins that are still to be seen in all Parts of *Egypt*, are apt to beget Doubts in the Minds of Travellers whether any thing reported of the *Egyptian* Buildings be Fable. For these Ruins so evidently surpass any thing that is to be seen elsewhere, except those of *Persepolis*, (which some *Arabian* Authors affirm to have been built by *Egyptian* Workmen) that Men are apt to gather from thence, that the Palaces and Cities of *Egypt*, when entire, were as much superior to those in other Parts. It is true, that this Supposition may be false ; yet this is uncertain, whereas that it is probable is a Thing of which we cannot doubt.

A L L the Ruins and Remains of Antiquity in this Country, proclaim, if I may be allowed the Expression, with one Voice, the exquisite Taste, as well as the great Skill and admirable Industry of Those who erected them. A simple Grandeur, a Magnificence arising from Proportion, a Disposition that pleases every Beholder from the Perspicuity of its Perfection justly surprizes an intelligent Spectator when he contemplates either the Palaces or the Temples of *Egypt*. As to the Hieroglyphicks with which the Walls of those Buildings are covered within-side and without, I pretend not to meddle with their Contents ; for, as I cannot demonstrate exactly the Wisdom contained in them, so I can never bring my self to believe that they are such Marks of Folly as the vain and puerile Interpretations of some of the Learned have made them. I have read that the *Ethio-*
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ians and *Scythians*, made use of Figures instead of Letters in expressing their Notions. It may be, that in ancient Times this was the universal Language of the Learned throughout the East ; and I think that it may in some Measure confirm this Notion what the most learned Travellers have observed of a sacred and profane Language, as well as Character, which is still in Use in almost every Oriental Country. To this I think I may add, that the Pictures of Animals were fit to compose what might be called an *Alphabet of Nature*, because they would represent the same Ideas to all Beholders who were once initiated in this Character, which by this Method might be made universal ; whether it was, or was not so, is what I cannot, but it is possible some body hereafter may prove.

THE other Publick Works of the *Egyptians*, such as their Mounts, their Canals, their artificial Lakes, are at such a Distance of Time seen with vast Disadvantage. Time hath either levelled, or at least reduced to Hillocks, the first, rendered the second Ditches, or Gutters, to what they were, and converted into loathsome Morasses those glorious Repositories of the best Water in the World, which the Wisdom of the ancient Kings of *Egypt* contrived, and which their industrious and obedient People executed with incredible Labour. But if they are not what they were, they still serve to shew us where these Miracles of Art once were : And there are so many clear Proofs deducible from the Uses to which they served, as well as from the Accounts given of them in History, that we cannot doubt of their being as vast and wonderful as they are represented. By what has been said of the City of *Alexandria*, it will be most evident,

evident, that these were not simple Works of Magnificence, or that any more Labour or Cost was employed about them than was necessary to make them what it was fit and requisite they should be. Thus the Lake *Moeris* was to have a Capacity sufficient, if I may so say, to pour another *Nile* through the Desarts, between it and *Alexandria*. I am convinced, from the Vestiges that still remain in the Country on the other Side of the *Nile*, that the like Arts were used to supply that Territory with Water. And hence, in my Opinion, arises a double Proof of the Populoufness of this Country. For, if there had not been almost an incredible Number of People, how could these immense Works have been performed ; and, on the other hand, if *Egypt*, in the Condition it is now in, had been sufficient to supply its Inhabitants with all Things necessary, to what End was so much Pains bestowed to render these Desarts habitable, which in their natural State might have served for Fortifications. As to the Number of the Inhabitants under its most ancient Kings, it may well be thought an impracticable Talk to ascertain it. However, I think I can render it very probable, that under *Sesoftris* there were in this Country between twenty and twenty-six Millions, which I think I could also shew might live as well, and as comfortably in that Country in the Condition it was then in, as the *Swiss* do in their's, which I take to be the most populous Country in *Europe*.

THUS I take my Leave of this Subject ; for if the framing a Religion so as to answer all the Ends of State ; if the settling a Constitution which subsisted sixteen hundred Years without Alteration ; if the inventing a military Discipline which enabled those who were trained

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up therein to conquer the greatest Part of the then known World ; if the making artificial Seas and Rivers, turning sandy Deserts into fruitful Fields, and erecting fine Cities where Nature had not afforded Materials for a Cottage : If, I say, all these Things, and many more of as stupendous a Nature, which, were it not to avoid Prolixity, I could easily reckon up, do not prove the Authors of them to have possessed solid and extensive Wisdom, then I must confess my self mistaken, and that my Partiality for the ancient *Egyptians* hath led me astray.

I SHALL now speak of the Learning of the modern *Egyptians*, which is no other than that of the *Arabs* ; and I shall the rather do it, First, because there is no Country in which it is better cultivated than it is in this : And secondly, because from the Accounts I have heard of this Sort of Learning in *Europe*, I am apt to think our Notions concerning it are not either so just or so distinct as they might be. That the *Arabs*, in the Days of *Mohammed*, were a very rude and indigent People, is certainly true ; but that they had been always so, or that at this very Time there were none amongst them that had the least Tincture of Literature, is what I think not altogether so apparent as some would make it. The Reason of my Opinion is this : The *Koran*, or *Bible* of the *Mohamedans*, is written not only in a sublime, but elegant Stile, and, as I observed before, its Elegance is one of the grand Arguments for the divine Inspiration of *Mohammed*. Thus they put it. Our *Prophet*, by his own Confession was an illiterate and simple *Man* ; his Book, however, is written in a pure and flowing Language, adorned with all the Figures of Rhetorick, and superior

to any thing that hath been written in the same Language since, therefore he wrote it by the Direction, or which is the same thing, had it delivered to him by the *Almighty*. To refel this Proposition, there is nothing more necessary than to consider the manifest Imperfections visible in the *Koran*; such as Facts false stated, Errors in Geography, and Chronology; and, which is still of greater Importance than any of these, flat Contradictions. But if the *Koran* be not divinely inspired, it is nevertheless excellently writ; and this is a Proof that the *Arabian* Stile arrived at Perfection, either in, or before the Days of *Mohammed*; whence I suppose it will follow, that those who used this Language were not utter *Barbarians*, but Men tollerably acquainted with the most useful of the Sciences, and who were accustomed to discourse of Things natural and divine.

THE Critics admit that there are in the Book of *Job* abundance of *Arabick* Words, and it is indisputably written in the Manner of that People. This seems a strong Confirmation of what was said before; and indeed I think it can be hardly conceived, that a Nation should remain *Barbarians* in the last Degree, and yet make use of a comprehensive and a copious Language. The Truth seems to be, that a certain Kind of mixt Theology, a sort of moral Philosophy, and a jumbled Notion of Astronomy and Astrology, made up the Learning of the *Arabians*, who were Cotemporaries with *Mohammed*, or lived in the Ages before him. Those who succeeded him were barbarous indeed, for they affected Barbarism, and for several Successions made War on the Republick of Letters, as fiercely as they did on all the neighbouring Nations. It was in this unfortunate Season
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when Enthusiasm was triumphant, and Literature in Disgrace, that *Egypt* fell into their Hands, and suffered no less by their burning all the Manuscripts therein, than by their overturning and destroying those Edifices which Time itself, and all *Barbarians* but these had seen with Reverence. By degrees, however, this Passion for Ignorance wore off ; and as the *Caliphs* began to think themselves Princes as well as Priests, they likewise grew content to suffer Learning to revive a little, and at last began to cultivate and encourage it. *Abu Jaafar Almansur* the Second *Caliph* of the *Abassides*, was the great Restorer of Science among the *Arabians* ; for he, not contented with the Study of their Language and Laws, which had been hitherto the utmost Limit of any *Caliph's* Knowledge, apply'd himself to the Sciences, and shew'd a great deal of Countenance, not only to the learned Men of his own Country and Religion, but to Strangers also. As his Reign was long and glorious, so his Conduct gave a Sort of Rule to his Successors, who were no longer afraid or ashamed to acknowledge themselves Protectors of Learning, and of its Professors.

THERE did not want, however, some enthusiastical Doctors, who thought that profane Literature might endanger their Religion ; and these Men having great Credit with the People, could not miss of having some also with their Sovereigns, till at length the *Caliph Almamun*, who was the Sixth of the House before mentioned, freed himself from all Restraints, engaged the Learned in all Professions, of all Religions, and from all Countries, to assemble in his Court, and patronized a Multitude of Translations, as well from the *European*, as from the Oriental Languages : By the former, I mean

the *Greek* and *Latin*; and by the latter, the ancient *Persian* and *Indian* Languages. On this Account he is regarded as the *Augustus* of the Learned; but the Bigots are not yet reconciled to his Memory; they are persuaded, that by an Affectation of Magnificence and universal Benevolence, he corrupted the Manners of the Faithful, and by introducing of foreign Philosophy, made Room for a Number of Heresies which have followed in Religion. I mention this to shew, that Men who would cover their own narrow Notions with the Veil of Religion, talk much the same Language in all Places; not that I am insensible of the Mischiefs which Religion hath suffered by the Intrigues of Men of Letters; on the contrary, I am sensible that a Heresy is seldom dangerous, but when such a Man is at the Head of it; yet I cannot think that Learning ought to be discouraged on this Account, because, if it should, I know of no Remedy that could be applyed to this very Evil. *Julian* was so sensible of this, that though he detested that Method of persecuting, which had been used by *Nero* and *Dioclesian*, yet he bethought himself of another, which would have been more fatal to the Church, that of forbidding her Children to study human Literature. Is it not strange that Bigots and Persecutors should think alike, and recommend one and the same Method with such different Views, as the extirpating and securing Religion? Or ought we not to be careful of admitting That as a Medicine, when prescribed by suspicious Friends, which our Enemies would force upon us as a Poison? The wiser Part of the *Mohammedans* have been always in this Sentiment, and especially the Princes of that Religion, who reigned in *Egypt*. These were great Encouragers
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of Learning, and the Sun-shine of their Favour brought many Strangers of Merit to their Courts.

It is true, that the *Mamaluks* turned all Things upside down, and were as open Enemies to Letters, as to Virtue; fond of their own brutal Policy, Power was the Idol they worshipped, and a licentious Luxury the only Happiness they sought. No wonder then that all the Professors of Learning fled out of *Egypt*, nor have they returned thither but by slow degrees; however, in this last Age a Number of concurring Accidents have made the *Arabian* Literature flourish here again. What chiefly contributed thereto was, the retiring hither of many of the richest *Moors*, who were driven out of *Spain*; as also the Munificence of such *Turkish* Lords as having shelter'd themselves in *Egypt*, enjoy either under the Protection of the *Spahis*, or *Janizaries*, the Possession of large Estates, which they acquired at Court. Add to this the Temperature of the Air, and the Serenity of the Climate, which seem naturally to incline the *Egyptians* to certain Studies. But it is time to be more particular, and to enter into a direct Detail of the Sciences which are at present in Vogue amongst the politer Part of the Inhabitants of this Country. This I shall endeavour to perform as succinctly and impartially as I can. For, as on the one hand I can never subscribe to the common Opinion, that the Inhabitants of all Parts of the Earth, except *Europe*, are *Barbarians*; so I shall never be brought on the other to allow, that the *Europeans* fall short of these in true Wisdom and useful Knowledge, which some who have grown enthusiastically fond of the Oriental Learning would persuade us.

I SHALL begin with observing, that although nothing is more common in *Europe* than to meet with Men who have no Sort of Taste for Books, or Learning of any Kind, yet this is seldom, or rather never the Case in this Country, especially among the *Arabs*. For though there are but few comparatively speaking, who can read or write tollerably, yet the Knowledge of past Events, and the Contents of Poems and Histories, famous amongst them, is a Sort of universal Passion. Besides, for their Genealogies, and the Histories of their respective Tribes, if we may call this Learning, every Man is possessed of it: They transmit it from Father to Son: They employ all their leisure Time in hearing or telling the Exploits of their Ancestors; neither is there any thing that endears a Foreigner to them so much as his list'ning patiently to those Recitals. Poetry seems to have been in Esteem with all the Oriental Nations from the earliest Point of Time; and indeed if Enthusiasm, or supernatural Transport be, as it is generally esteemed, the Essence of Poetry, then the Authors of this Country ought to carry away the Prize, as well in Point of Excellence, as of Numbers. The *Arabick* is, of all Languages, except the *Greek*, the best suited to poetick Compositions, for it is extremely sonorous, very copious, abounding with Epithets, and extremely capable of that Figure which the *Greeks* call *Paranomasia*, which I think I cannot express better than by calling it a Method of assisting *Sense* by *Sounds*, an Embellishment frequently met with in the Sacred Scriptures, and which has certainly very happy Effects; though I know it has not been held a true Beauty by our modern Critics. The *Persian* Language is also extremely capable of all the
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Excellencies of Poetry, and tho' there are not so many, yet there have been as great and as celebrated Poets of this Nation, as of any other in the *East*; for which Reason all who pretend to Learning, not only throughout *Egypt*, but through the whole *Turkish* Empire, and the Dominions of the *Great Mogul*, apply themselves to this Language, so as to acquire a Facility not only in speaking and reading it, but of writing it also, for without this Accomplishment, there is no acquiring the Character of Politeness in any of the Courts of *Asia*. The *Turkish*, which is in Fact a mixture of various Tongues, viz. the *Arabick*, *Slavonick*, and modern *Greek*, is yet capable of Compositions very musical and pleasant; but there are not many Poems of great Fame in this Language unless translated, the politer *Turks* content themselves with Madrigals, Sonnets, and a sort of Elegiac Poems, which yet would not be held despicable in any other Language.

NEXT to Poetry, we may reckon their Passion for Moral Philosophy, the Precepts of which are generally delivered in a mixt kind of Works, that is, partly Prose and partly Verse. There are of these in all the Oriental Languages, and they are alike read and esteemed in all. They consist of certain Maxims or Aphorisms, illustrated by short Discourses, Comparisons, Allegories, Apologues, Passages from History, Quotations from Poets, and sometimes Prologues and Epilogues in Verse, by the Authors themselves. This kind of Books are usually recommended to young People, in respect as well to their pleasantness, as to the Tendency they have to correct their Manners. They likewise make a part of the Entertainment of studious and sedentary People, and

are sometimes read in select Companies of Friends, who assemble for the Sake of promoting Knowledge. The ordinary sort of *Turks* content themselves with reading; or hearing read to them certain Romances, full of strange incredible Adventures, but connected by such a strong Spirit of Enthusiasm, and so diversified by the Fecundity of the Oriental Genius, that to those who have heard and understand them, the Pleasure the *Turks* take in them is not at all stupendous, much less ridiculous, as some of our Authors would represent it.

I remember amongst others, to have heard once the following Story read in a pretty large Company: One of the *Caliphs* finding himself in Danger, from the Ambition, Wealth, and Power of one of his Ministers, conceived that the safest Way of delivering himself was to sacrifice this Man to the People; and therefore having ordered him to be put to Death, he at the same Time by Proclamation, bestowed his House and all his Wealth on the Populace. There wanted nothing more than this Royal Permission to set the Mob to work, who instantly tore the House in Pieces, every one taking what came first to hand. The Author of this History digresses on this Occasion, into a large Account of the Minister's Luxury, which as he informs us, was such, that there were in his Kitchen constantly a certain number of Dishes ready to be set on the Table. Amongst the Mob there was one *Kobak*, a poor miserable Fellow, who subsisted by selling Greens; this Man stumbled by Chance on a Bag with two thousand Pieces of Gold, a great good Fortune in outward Appearance, but the Business was how to secure it; *Kobak* carried it as well as he could into the Kitchen, and seeing there an earthen

thern Pot half full of Rice and Mutton, he threw his Bag into it, and then setting the Pot upon his Head, marched off in Triumph. The Crowd made Way for him as he passed, shouting and jeering him for making Prize of a little Victuals, *Well, well, said Kobak, you who have Riches may covet Riches, to me it is something that I have got a Dinner.* The People were so well pleased with the Modesty of this Answer, that they commended the Man, and suffered him to go peaceably to his Hut, where he quickly discovered to his Family that he had brought them Rice and Mutton for their Life-time. The *Turks* laughed immoderately at this Relation, which so provoked a *German* who was present, that he could not avoid asking *Osman Effendi*, who brought him, where the Wit or Sense of that Story lay. *Why, Friend* answered the *Turk* gravely, *Art thou one of the Mob, that amongst the Rice and Mutton loose Sight of the Gold, and think your own Ignorance Wisdom.*

NOT to carry Things farther than they naturally go, I think I may affirm, that as the Oriental Imagination is wonderfully sharp, amazingly rapid, and yet always pleasant and amusing; so there is a Profundity in Judgment, especially observable in the *Moors* and *Arabs*, who have applied themselves to Learning, which can never be described. When one of these Stories hath been read, the Book is generally laid by. Then somebody starts a Question, another replies, and as the Conversation grows warm, a Multitude of shining sublime Things are said, which would appear altogether incredible if repeated. The publick Accademies, or as we call them in *Europe* Universities, are very numerous in the Countries possessed by *Mohammedan* Princes, and there are a prodigious

digious number of Scholars educated in each of them. It is not therefore a real Want of Learning, which makes these People appear so ignorant to our *European* Travellers, but their valuing that Learning most which we value least, and in which, few of our Travellers have any Skill at all. Besides it requires a great deal of Time and Application to acquire any Degree of Knowledge in the *Arabian* and *Persian* Tongues, and a much longer Space to relish the Histories, Poems, and Essays, that are wrote in them. However if no other Good resulted from it, this alone would justify a Man in taking such Pains, that he hath thereby an Opportunity of reading many *Greek* and *Latin* Authors entire, of which we have only mutilated Copies. For instance, there is certainly a compleat *Arabick* Translation of *T. Livius*, and I have been informed, that there is a compleat Version of *Curtius* in *Persian*. To condemn therefore in the gross all these People esteem, is absurd; because we at the same Time include what we study and admire ourselves. But of this enough.

WE are in *Europe* strongly prejudiced against Oriental Histories, but this Prejudice is derived rather from their Manner than their Matter, and sometimes for want of distinguishing Romances from History. It is many Ages ago that *Xenophon* borrow'd from the *Persians* the Plan of the Institution of *Cyrus*, a Work not written strictly according to Facts, and yet not fill'd up with Falsehoods, but with the Appearances of Truth, fitted to amuse and to instruct, not to deceive or to delude the Reader; for it is well known throughout the *East*, and was no Doubt as well understood by the *Greeks*, that these Pieces were not strict History, but
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that they had what the skilful in Musick call a *Ground* of Fact, the reasoning and Decorations flowing from the Genius of the Author. But besides these historical Romances, which are indeed very numerous, there are in the *East* a great abundance of original and well wrote Histories.

SOME of them contain general Transactions in all Nations, from the beginning of the World, to some certain Period ; some the particular of certain Nations ; some containing the *Dynasties* of the ancient Kings before the Time of *Mohammed* ; some recording the History of the Princes of that Faith, who have ruled in all the Nations that have embraced it. Most of these are in *Persian* or *Arabick*, some in the *Turkish* Language, and a great many translated into it. There are no less than thirteen Histories of the House of *Othoman*, written by several Authors, some in Prose, and some in Verse, Besides, there is hardly a great City in all the *East* of which there is not one, or more Histories. The Lives of *Caliphs*, *Sultans*, famous *Generals*, *Statesmen*, *Historians*, *Poets*, and *Holy Men* are written apart ; and there are likewise numberless Accounts of Earthquakes, Famines, Plagues, Rebellions, Revolutions, and other remarkable Events, penn'd in the Way of Chronicle, with excellent Remarks, and curious Observations. Some great Men have compiled large Collections in the Essay kind, long before that kind of Writing was heard of in *Europe*, and the *French* Ambassador at *Constantinople* sent his Master about the Year 1670, several Volumes written in this Way four hundred Years ago, by a *Vizir* of the *Sultan* of *Khorassan*.

As to Annals, they have Works in that Form of great Accuracy, and of vast Extent. Those of *Persia* make two hundred Volumes, and I am well assured, that the Annals of *China* are of the same Bulk; but then they are an Abridgment only, for those called the Royal Annals of *China* make five hundred Volumes. And there is a general History of the *Tartars*, which is said to have been examined by a hundred learned Men, divided into five Parts, each containing twenty Volumes. It must however be allowed, that the want of Printing, and the excessive Price of Manuscripts, render Libraries very thin in *Mohammedan* Countries, that is in Comparison of ours; yet their Libraries are more comprehensive than they seem, since they contain no variety of Editions, much less Duplicates of the same Book. However in Royal Libraries, and those collected by Men in high Station, and of great Fortune, there are noble Collections. The Royal Library at *Fez*, contains thirty thousand Volumes, of which many noble *Moors* have Catalogues. I need say the less on this Matter, because I understand there is a learned Man in *Europe*, who is about to publish a Treatise expressly on this Subject, which will be very curious and entertaining.

As to Chronology and Geography, those necessary Lights to History, our *Western* Authors have so habituated themselves to speak with the utmost Contempt of the Abilities of *Eastern* Writers in respect to them, that it may be dangerous to endeavour the Removal of so old and so universal an Error. But as it is an Error, I will venture to remove it, by affirming, that there are as exact Geographical Descriptions in the *Arabick* Tongue as in any other whatsoever; and why should there

there not? Did we not recover *Ptolemy* from thence? For want of studying these Geographers, we are miserably deceived, and while we laugh at the Ignorance of the Oriental Nations, it is only their Ignorance of our Ignorance, that hinders them from deriding us. For that they have better Accounts of their own Countries than we have, that the Description and History of every little Kingdom swallowed up long ago in the *East*, still subsists in their Libraries, is a Fact that cannot be questioned. And as to Chronology, there are *Arabian* and *Persian* Authors, who have written very learnedly on all the *Æras* that have been in Use among the Nations of the *East*. Nay, I have seen a *Persian* Chronicle, in which the Reigns of the Princes before *Mohammed*, or rather before *Omar*, are computed by Days, and a Method proposed for reducing the *Æra* of the *Hegira*, to that of *Isdegerd*.

BUT that I may not seem to be as much prejudiced in Favour of the Oriental Nations, as some are against them, I will admit that many of the *Turkish* Men of the Law are very ignorant, and so are most of the *Grandeess*; the Professors of Astrology and the occult Sciences are also meer Blockheads; but then, have these sort of People no Brethren elsewhere? Are all Men of the *Robe* in *Europe* *Solomons*? All Men of Quality Men of Letters? All Figure-Casters Men of Parts and Probity? If not, what does the Ignorance of these sort of Men in the *East* prove? Surely, nothing against the Learning of others, which is what I speak of.

As to Numbers, we ought in Conscience to allow the *Arabians* a competent Knowledge in them; because we have borrowed our very Figures from them. But
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besides the common Doctrine of Arithmetic, they are extremely well acquainted with that most curious Science, which we call *Algebra*, tho' I think not very properly; because this is pure *Arabick*, and the *Arabians* never call that Science so, but constantly use this Form of Expression, *Al Gebr ou Al Mocabelah*, i. e. *Computation by Comparison*; for *Mocabelah* signifies Opposition, or comparing, and every Body knows that this is the most essential part of that Science. When this Science was first known in *Europe*, or to speak more accurately, was recovered by the *Europeans*; the common Opinion was, that this Method of computing had for its Author *Geber*, whom the *Arabians* call *Giafar*, and thence came our Appellation. But as this Notion was absolutely without Foundation, as the very Composition of our own Word shews to a Person moderately skill'd in *Arabick*, so 'tis but reasonable that this Error should be removed, and tho' I do not plead for changing the Name of this Science, yet I cannot help wishing that this Appellation should be universally understood. The *Persians* have been remarkably careful in the Cultivation of this Branch of Knowledge, there being in their Language as well as in the *Arabick*, both in Prose and in Verse, a vast Variety of Works relating to analitical Computation. I cannot however deny, that the *Eastern* Sages entertain some gross Mistakes about this Science, and that they have misapplyed it strangely. For Example, they attribute the Invention of this Art to *Aristotle*, whose Fame is very great in the *East*, and of whose Works they have a far better Collection than we. Yet in this they speak without Foundation, for *Algebra* was certainly devised by *Diophantus* of *Alexandria*

dria, who lived in the second Century, and whose Works both the *Arabians* and *Persians* have in their own Language. As to the wrong Use they make of this Science, it is the same which they make of all Sciences, that is, they would fain convert it into a sort of Divination. The very Piece they ascribe to *Aristotle* is written in this Stile, and bears the Form of a Letter to his Disciple, acquainting him with the Method of Divining by Numbers, which Army would be victorious in Battle. A miserable Fall this! and altogether unworthy of that great Genius on whom they would Father it. But perhaps I have been already too long upon so dry a Matter, for which I have no other Excuse, than that Men generally fancy they may be allowed to talk much on a Subject which they have studied much. Let me now speak of the present State of Physic in *Egypt*, and so conclude this Discourse.

I have before spoken in general of the ancient and present State of Professors of Physick in *Egypt*, I have also expatiated on the Seasons and different Temperaments of Air in this Country, but as my Intention is to treat this Subject more strictly here, I will resume a few Particulars with respect to the latter, and also add not a few to what I have said of the former. The Air of *Egypt* considered Physically, is hot, dry, unequal, and in some Months nitrous and chilly. In the extreme Heats of Summer, the Inhabitants have recourse to variety of Inventions, for the procuring cool Air, in which they are wonderfully successful; tho' sometimes to their Prejudice. The North Winds which blow, as I have elsewhere shewn, suddenly and incertainly in the hottest Seasons, are received with too great Avidity,
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and with too little Precaution, by a People half burnt by the raging Heat of the Season. As there is a prodigious mixture of Nations in this Country, it follows from thence, that their Habit, Temper, and manner of living, cannot in a Physical Sense, be very exactly described. For Instance, in *Cairo* one may easily reckon up between twenty and thirty different Nations, such as *Egyptians, Arabs, Abyssines, Ethiopians, Indians, Persians, Assyrians, Greeks, Turks, Tartars, Hungarians, Slavonians, Russians, Moors, &c.* We may however make a new Division of the Inhabitants of this Country, so as to serve our Purpose tollerably well. In the first Place let us reckon those who inhabit Cities and great Towns; these lead indolent, easy, and luxurious Lives, affect a moist cooling Diet, drink cool Liquors in abundance, and bath often, hence they are generally speaking, extremely fat, some monstrously so; have weak, cold Stomachs, are subject to Ruptures, Dropsies, and Fluxes, and are seldom without Rheums, Defluxions on the Breast and Lungs, and other such like Distempers, which are exceedingly increased by the excessive Use of Women. The second sort are the *Arabs*, who by keeping strictly to the Customs of their own Country and Nation, escape many, if not most of these Diseases, and are of a quite different Temperament, that is have spare and hectic Constitutions. The third sort are the Villagers or Peasants, a Race of laborious, hardy People, who endure all Seasons, and all Weathers, eat little, work much, are of a dark Sun-burnt Complexion, and are so seldom the Objects of a Physician's Care, that it is hard to say what their Constitutions are, farther than as they are represented by the foregoing Description.

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THIS Account will serve well enough to shew how People come to be sick, unhealthy, and short lived; but as many of the *Egyptians* escape all these Evils, and attain extreme old Age, it is necessary that this also should be accounted for, at least as far as it may be. All the ancient Historians, and not a few modern Travellers assure us, that the *Egyptians* live long, and indeed the Fact is indubitable, but then we must admit of proper Distinctions. The native *Egyptians*, the *Arabs*, and the Peasants are long lived, together with such as are pretty careful of their Health, of which there are several Causes, (amongst which however the Air must never be reckoned,) but the principal Cause is Temperance. In *Egypt* few People eat much Flesh, and the Flesh they do eat, is either Veal, Mutton, or Fowls; they are likewise no Drinkers of strong Liquors, and are extremely careful in preserving a calm and quiet State of Mind. This may seem not very consistent with what I said of their Luxury, but that is not my Fault, the general Intemperance of the Northern and Western Parts of *Europe* give the Inhabitants of those Countries a false Idea of Luxury, which is found in many Things besides eating and drinking, such as in Habit, Attendance, Baths for Pleasure, Perfumes, and a thousand other Things discoverable by human Invention, when turn'd to so unworthy a Pursuit. With respect to these Things the *Egyptians* are luxurious, nor are they altogether free from it in Point of Diet; for they are careful in gratifying their Tastes, but not immoderate in the use of what they like.

OUR Accounts of *Egypt* always speak of the Plague as a Disease common in *Egypt*, and so indeed it is, for

it visits the Inhabitants once a Year punctually, and sometimes commits great Havock ; of which more particularly hereafter. But besides the Plague, the Inhabitants are visited by pestilential Fevers, which are mortal in twenty-four Hours; young People especially at *Cairo* and *Alexandria*, are in Danger every Summer from a malignant kind of Small-Pox which rages excessively. The Leprosy is also a common Distemper, especially among the meaner sort of People, occasioned by their Meat and Drink. They have in this Country a sort of fat, salt, half rotten Cheese, which both on Account of its cheapness and of its Relish, is much eaten by the ordinary Peasants, who likewise take up with Greens, Roots, and Pulse, as well as with Flesh not in Perfection, and in the Summer Months when the *Nile* is low, are constrained to use other Water, which is not only unwholesome by Comparison with the *Nile*, but perhaps the most unwholesome in the World. In the Neighbourhood of *Cairo*, and even in the City itself, Numbers are afflicted with a kind of Leprosy, which is properly an *Elephantiasis*, whereby from their Hips downwards they are swell'd in such a manner, as to lose the Form of their Limbs, as well as the Use of them, and instead of Legs and Feet, they are supported by shapeless Pillars, like the Legs of Elephants; yet is this extraordinary Swelling without Pain. All kinds of Ruptures, and some of them equally hideous and painful, are very frequent, and so is the Gout, the Gravel, and the Stone, obstructions, and Inflammations in the Bowels, and all the Diseases of which the Head and Eyes are capable. But of these I forbear to speak particularly, because I do not know that they differ much from

from the same sort of Diseases in *Europe* ; and because I am willing to speak diffusely of the Plague, which I have said, constantly visits *Egypt*, and of which, tho' our Authors speak much, yet I think little hath hitherto been said accurately about it.

THIS grievous and destructive Malady, tho' it be much strengthened and encreased by the Heat of the Air in *Egypt*, is seldom or never bred there ; so that tho' it may be stiled *endemial* and *epidemic* in *Egypt*, yet it cannot be called *indigenous*, since it is certainly derived either from *Greece* or *Syria*, on the one Side, or from *Barbary* or *Libya* on the other ; and these Plagues are very different. The Plague when it comes from *Greece* seizes many, but its Symptoms are mild, and there are but a few to whom it proves mortal ; the Plague from *Syria* is more fatal, for tho' few are seized thereby, yet more die than in the former Case ; but when the Plague comes from *Barbary*, or *Libya*, it lays all *Cairo* waste, preying on all Degrees of People with grievous and prodigious Symptoms, which mostly terminate in Death, so that few who are struck therewith, preserve either Hope or Reason. When the Plague comes early in the Year, that is in the Months of *September* or *October*, it does most Mischief, and continues longest ; but when it is late in the Season before it visits *Cairo*, it does not spread so excessively, or do so much Mischief. But whenever it comes, or of whatsoever sort it be, the rising of the *Nile* delivers the People at once, not only from the Disease, but from all Apprehensions of it. Seven Months therefore is the Circle of its Reign, in which if we may believe what the Inhabitants of *Cairo* unanimously assert, it hath sometimes carried off half a Million of

Persons; but this is very rare, and if seventy thousand die in a Year of that Distemper, it is held to be a very great Mortality.

Two Things there are which I think not easily, if they are at all to be accounted for, and that is, the coming and the going of the Plague, both of which are Facts so thoroughly asserted, that no Man in his right Senses pretends to doubt of them. That the Plague is propagated in, and transferr'd from Place to Place by the Air, seems to be a Thing out of Dispute, but how it is generated therein, I must confess I cannot say. Those who have lived at *Constantinople* affirm, that it is always more or less in that City, and the common Opinion in *Egypt* is, that the Plague is always in some Part or other of *Barbary*; which if true, one might with some Colour of Reason suggest, that the Wind blowing long from either of these Quarters, might bring along with it the infected Air, which once suck'd in, might give a beginning to the Disease in *Egypt*, where it must be kept up and continued by the stifling Heat of the Summer Months, which tho' not sufficient to produce, may be very capable of circulating and spreading the Disease, and of heightening the Degree of the Infection. The stopping of the Plague, or rather the entire Cessation thereof, is a Thing still more perplexed, because it happens suddenly, on the first rising of the Waters of the *Nile*, and when the North Winds do but begin to blow. However I will offer something on this Head too, which if it be not perfectly reasonable, yet may provoke some more knowing Man to confute it, and establish something better in its Room. Experience hath justified what Men at first, perhaps from Fancy rather than Reason,

son, took for certain, that Plenty of running Water renders Places wholesome, the Reason of this I conceive to be the frequent Change of Air that must necessarily happen in such a Place, for the one Fluid sustaining the other, they both move at once; and therefore I apprehend, that running Water supplies in some Measure the Place of Wind in purifying the Air. Now it is certain, that while the Plague continues in *Egypt*, the *Nile* runs very slowly, and at last scarce runs at all. But when its Waters begin to swell, which happens by the Supplies they receive from *Ethiopia*, I conceive they bring down with them fresh Air, which is dispersed through the Country at the same Time that the former infectious Air is brushed off by the blowing of the North Wind. I might offer in Support of this Opinion, that wonderful Change that then happens with respect to the Cloaths, Goods, and Domestick Utensils of Persons infected, which are instantly made Use of without any ill Consequences following thereupon, which I think can have no other Cause then the entire Alteration of the Air, now render'd incapable of spreading Infection.

By this Remark I have been put in Mind of a Circumstance of very great Importance, and that is, the Means made Use of by the *Mohammedan* Inhabitants of *Egypt*, to spread, to propagate, and support the Plague, if I may so term their Obstinacy in shewing a Zeal without Knowledge for their Law. This they do not only by conversing freely with such as have Plague Sores upon them, but by putting on their Garments as soon as they are expired, and even selling these together with their Moveables publicly, and thereby circulating the

Infection throughout the whole Place, all which flows from an Opinion, that God having pre-determined the Time of a Man's Death, all Precautions are alike fruitless and ridiculous, from which Notion, the bulk of the People are not to be weaned either by Reason or Experience. From the Diseases let us now pass to the Physicians.

THERE are in *Egypt* many Professors of the different Branches of Physic, of both Sexes; many Occulists, Men who make it their Business to bleed and scarify, and indeed all these are very dextrous in their Way; but for a regular Physician, one who has made the whole Body of the healing Science his Study, and fortified his Reading by compleat Observation, there are none such in *Egypt*, if we except those who come thither from *Europe*. The *Egyptians* are great Takers of Medicines, as well in good Health as when they are sick, some Things they chew for a sweet Breath; they use Electuaries for curing Crudities in the Stomach; they have Syrups and Confections, which answer divers Ends, but above all, they are great Takers of Opium, and other Drugs of that sort, in Order to promote an exhilarating Sensation, in which some *Europeans* have imitated them, but with little Reason, and not much to their Satisfaction; for they have found at last the Necessity of abandoning Opium, from the Accidents which follow from their not having it by them at the accustomed Time of their taking it, which tho' it rarely happens, yet by being mislaid, or by twenty other Accidents, it may happen to any Man, and then his Life is immediately in Danger, he is surpriz'd with Fits, with Convulsions, Vomiting, and such a mighty Depression of the
Spirits,

Spirits, that nothing can be more frightful, or more alarming, than to see a Person in such a Condition. But it may be enquired, how since such Symptoms follow the Neglect of it in a single Dose, Men ever find the Method of leaving it entirely? To which I answer, that this is not to be done but with Circumspection; for first of all the accustomed Dose is abated, which that it may give the less Pain, is in some Measure supplied to the Patient, by adding to the reduced Dose a Glass of generous Wine. The Quantity of Wine is encreased as the Quantity of Opium is diminished, till at length the Person is brought to drink at his accustomed Time pure Wine, without any Inconvenience. Afterwards the Wine is decreased in Quantity, so that in six Months it may be left off as well as the Opium, and Nature left to perform what was before the Effect of Art; for what a Man does who has taken Opium, is like what a Puppet may be made to do by Clock-work, it astonishes the ignorant, but Men of Sense have no Opinion of it.

THE *Egyptian* Physicians bleed very copiously almost for all Diseases, frequently without any Disease at all, and this they do without distinction of Age or Sex, which certainly produces a great deal of Mischief, and I make no Question that it heightens to a dangerous Degree, many of the Disorders which it is made Use of to abate. The Practice in this Case is not more destructive than the Principle on which it is grounded is ridiculous; for these Dealers in Medicine having as I said before, no comprehensive Knowledge of the Art they profess, assign such Causes for Diseases as will best satisfy the People. They pretend therefore, that all the Water of

the *Nile*, which a Man receives into his Body, becomes Blood ; and this they say hath been the Case ever since *Moses* changed the Water of that River into Blood. But tho' they may bleed too much, and certainly do it often without any true Reason, yet it must be owned, that they do it more dexterously, and to better Purpose than we do in *Europe*. For instance, they open more Veins than we do. Where there is an intense Head-ach, they bleed in the Forehead, and in the Nose, and thereby frequently cure the Patient upon the Spot. They bleed likewise on the Wrist, behind the Ears, in the Neck, &c. But their great Skill lies in opening of Arteries, which they do frequently, and very successfully, in all Parts of the Body, and without any of those Symptoms which attend the accidental pricking these Vessels in our Northern Climates. They likewise cup and scarify very dexterously ; so that I am apt to think, that as they have certainly forgot and lost the Theory of the Antients, they yet as certainly preserve the Methods in Use in those Days, which ought to give us higher Ideas of the practical Skill of the old Physicians than we are apt to entertain ; which whether it arises from Envy towards them, or Vanity in our selves, I pretend not to determine.

I MUST not omit, now I am speaking of the singular Operations performed by the *Egyptian* Surgeons, if I may so call them, an odd Way of extracting Stones out of the Bladder, which, as I never heard of in *Europe*, so I have Reason to think it has never been practised there. This is a Business by it self, and those who are skillful therein get a great deal of Money, for the Stone is a common Distemper, not only amongst the *Jews* and *Christians*,

Christians, but amongst the *Turks* and native *Egyptians*; and it is easy to conceive, that those who are troubled therewith are content to purchase Ease almost at any Price, especially where there is no cutting in the Operation. This the *Egyptian* Artist performs thus. He brings two or three small Tubes of different Sizes, which fit one in another like the Pieces in a Hautboy. They are composed of a cartilaginous Substance, which is extremely capable of Extension. One of these, which is the largest, he introduces through the urinary Passage to the Neck of the Bladder, then passing the Finger of his Left Hand into the *Anus*, he pushes the Stone towards the Neck of the Bladder; when this is done, he takes the other End of the Pipe in his Mouth, and by blowing with all his Force wonderfully dilates the Passage, 'till finding the Stone at the Mouth of the Tube, he draws up his Breath at once, and having receiv'd it into his Pipe, he slips down his Hand, and secures it thereby from returning into the Bladder; then fitting another of his Pipes to the End of that which he had before used, he draws the Stone through the *Penis*, 'till he is able to extract it either with his Finger or an Instrument. How incredible soever this may seem, and I know it will appear incredible to those who believe themselves best Judges in these Matters, yet the Fact is certain, and I could relate much more concerning it, but that I think this sufficient to those who will believe it, and to those who will not, adding any thing more would only serve to excite farther Contempt.

IN the Dropsy they cut very boldly, and often ease the Patient, nay, and sometimes cure him; but then it must likewise be owned, that Instances are not infrequent
where

where Gangreens have followed upon this Operation, in part owing perhaps to the Unskillfulness of the Operator, and in part to the Obstinacy of the Patient: For as in *Spain* no sick Person will be restrained from high season'd Hashes, so in *Egypt* Men will rather bear any thing than be interdicted cool Liquors.

THIS Humour of theirs, which seems at first sight so effeminate, is in truth the Source of their bearing with wonderful Patience such Operations as would terrify People almost out of their Wits in any other Place. For instance, in the Gout, and other Diseases, nothing is more common in *Egypt* than to suffer the Part afflicted to be burnt, not by any Potential, but by an actual Cautery; which Operation is performed after the following Manner. The Patient being in Bed, the Person who undertakes the Cure rolls up a Piece of Cotton Cloth in the Form of a Pyramid, leaving a spiracle or Air-hole in the middle; this Piece of Cloth, thus rolled up, being set on fire, is placed on the Member affected, and there it is suffer'd to remain till it is consumed to Ashes. By this Means a running Wound or Ulcer is formed, which is kept open as long as may be, and by this means the Patient is very frequently cured, when all other Methods have failed. This they frequently practise for almost all Diseases. For the Head-ach they burn the Temples, and behind the Ears. The *Lumbago* they cure by burning on the Loins. The Dropsy, by raising an Ulcer on the Belly. The Sciatica, by burning on the Hip; and the Gout, by burning above and below the Joint on which it fixes. It is not necessary for me to enquire whether the Cures that certainly follow this uncouth Manner of Proceeding ought to be attributed to the

the drying up of the Humours by the Operation it self, or to the draining them off by keeping the Ulcer open ; perhaps it is serviceable both Ways. However, it must be owned, that in some chronical Distempers, where the Patients have been quite worn out, and the Wits of our Physicians absolutely at a Stand, this *Egyptian* Remedy hath been try'd with wonderful and unexpected Success. But then it is worthy of Remark, that this, and the rest of their Operations, always succeed best under the Direction of some *Italian* or *French* Physician, which I conceive to be owing not so much to their Skill in Physick, as to their Knowledge in Anatomy, wherein most of the *Egyptian* Operators are very indifferently versed, though one would think quite the contrary, from their finding and opening the smallest Veins with incomparable Ease and Dexterity : But this Knowledge they have by Tradition, and their Adroitness comes by Practice ; so that what I have advanced cannot be looked upon as incredible or improbable.

I MIGHT add to this Discourse Accounts of the *Egyptian* Preparations for stimulating Lust, for appeasing Care, and for delighting the Mind by pleasant Dreams ; but I think the mentioning of them sufficient to shew that they do not deserve to be particularly treated of, and therefore I shall say no more of them, or of those who contrive and exhibit them. What I have said is sufficient to give a general Idea of the present State of Learning in this Country, which is all I propose to give, and therefore my Task being ended, I willingly lay down my Pen.

It is now Time to return to my own Affairs, and to the Reasons which led us to a precipitate Return into
Europe,

Europe, after having render'd a Country not very agreeable to Strangers, almost as easy to us as to its natural Inhabitants. In the Month of *August*, we received a Letter from Mr. *Fetherstone*, full of very good News, but with an Intimation, that our Presence at *Leghorn* might be as useful to us, or rather more so, than a longer Residence in *Africk*. In a private Letter to me, Mr. *Fetherstone* informed me that *Johnson* had sold in *France* a little Collection which I had sent him of valuable Stones, for two thousand five hundred Crowns, which was a fifth Part more than I expected ; and he likewise hinted, that if I could bring more of these Stones into *Europe*, they would be more beneficial than Curiosities, on account of various Royal Marriages which were then talked of. These Letters did not determine either Mr. *Perez*, or my self, to be very hasty in our Motions ; on the contrary, we resolved to make a very large Collection before our Return to *Italy*, especially of Medals, which we purchased very cheap, and of Manuscripts, and figured Gems, which we knew to be much valued in *Europe*, by the Persons sent from *France* and *Italy* to collect them, of whose Errands we had very particular Accounts ; though, for many Reasons, we cautiously avoided any personal Correspondence with them. In three Weeks after the Receipt of Mr. *Fetherstone's* Letter, I had a Message from the *Venetian* Consul, directing me to attend him the next Morning, and, to my Surprise and Concern, was informed that he had two large Boxes which were directed to be put into my Hands by his Correspondent at *Rosetta*, together with a Letter, which notified the Death of my good Friend Dr. *Salviati*, who left me his Papers, some Curiosities he had collected in

in *Egypt*, and several other Things of Value. I thanked the Consul for his Care and Goodness on this as well as on many other Occasions. He received my Compliments with the utmost Civility, and told me, that he was well acquainted with the sincere Esteem I had always shewn for the Deceased, who was his particular Friend; and that when I inclined to return into *Europe*, he would charge me with a private Commission relating to his own Affairs. I told him, that I had already Thoughts of returning into *Italy*, and was actually disposing my Affairs so as to be able to depart very soon. He said his Business did not require any great Dispatch, and that he should be glad I would give him a Week or ten Day's Notice.

ON my Return home, I found another Packet from Mr. *Fetherstone*, the Contents of which were not very material, with respect to me; but there came inclosed a Letter to Mr. *Perez*, which made a very great Impression upon him, and engaged him to be more expeditious than he intended in his Return to *Europe*. As in respect to his own Concerns he was a Man of a reserved Temper, I could never be perfectly informed of the Contents of this Letter, the utmost I could learn by putting together broken Expressions and distant Discourses was this, that his Uncle, who had been imprisoned by the Inquisition, had, by dint of Interest, escaped; and the Court finding it necessary to intrust him with Remittances into *Flanders*, he was left more at Liberty than Men usually are who have been once under the Displeasure of the Holy Office. He did not fail to make a proper Use of this Indulgence, for having by large Sums given to Convents, Fraternities, and other Catholick Institutions,

Institutions, confirmed the Priesthood in a good Opinion of him, he at last found Means to retire to *Bayonne*, after remitting into *France*, *Holland*, and the *French Flanders*, an immense Sum of Money, of which he was possessed when he was first seized, and which he had found Means to secret in spite of all the Vigilance of the Inquisitors. This Event made a great Alteration in the Affairs of Mr. *Perez*, not only on account of his near Relation to this Person, but by reason of his having a considerable Part of his Fortune in his Hands, which he was now in a Condition to restore. What this Proportion was, either of Mr. *Perez*'s, or of his Uncle's Substance, I never knew; but I have Reason to think, that it was very considerable from Mr. *Perez*'s Conduct. His Reservedness was not on Account of himself, but of his Relations, of whom he had many in *Spain* and *Portugal*, whose Safety depended entirely on his Taciturnity. After meditating a Day or two upon this Letter, he told me that he was determined to go immediately to *France*, when an Opportunity should offer; that as to his Effects, he would leave them to my Care, and that on my settling a general Account with Mr. *Fetherstone*, he would let me know his Sentiments farther. In the mean time he became very grave and thoughtful, spoke little, affected to be alone, and seem'd to be uneasy at our longer Stay in *Egypt*.

THIS induced me to make all the Haste I could in settling Things for our Return; which having at last performed, I went to wait upon the *Venetian* Consul, and to receive his Commands. They related to the Sale of some Jewels which he had already sent to *Venice*, and about which an Agent from a great *Italian* Prince had.

had given himself a good deal of Trouble. The Consul had some Suspicions which he communicated to me, directed me how I should be satisfied, and at the same time put into my Hands an Order to his Correspondent to follow in this Affair the Directions he should receive from me. As I look'd upon my self to be extremely honoured by this Mark of the Consul's Favour and Confidence, so I was no less obliged to him for a Present he made me of a Cabinet of Curiosities at my Departure, and the Pains he took in recommending me to the Captain of the Ship in which I returned to *Italy*. But of these Things hereafter. At our leaving *Cairo*, *Antonio*, who had served us long and faithfully, engaged himself so far in an amorous Intrigue as to make it his Choice to stay behind, and to enter into the Service of the *French* Consul. Mr. *Perez* expressed some Surprize at this, having been extremely kind to him, and intending him much greater Favours. At first we could not penetrate his Reasons, but before we left *Rosetta*, we learned that he had married a *Greek* Wench; so that in all Conditions of Life it seems Love hath for a Time a stronger Influence than Interest.

WE arrived at *Rosetta* in the Beginning of *November*, and the first Place I went to was the Patron's of my Friend *Salviati*, to return them Thanks personally, as I had already done by Letter, for their Care and Exactness in fulfilling that good Man's Will. They told me, that though he had had considerable Opportunities of getting Money, yet he did not die worth above four hundred Sequins, which he had left to them to be distributed in Charity; and which they put into the Hands of the Fathers of Mercy, to be employ'd in the Redemption,

demption of Christian Captives, adding a hundred Sequins of their own. I cannot, on this Occasion, avoid setting down what I have often observed, that there is in eminent Merchants a greater Fund of Justice, Honour and Beneficence, than there is in almost any other kind of People ; at the same time that of all others they speak least of these Things, but content themselves with that Satisfaction which is the Result of doing worthy Actions, and which is infinitely more grateful, as well as less disturbing to a wise Man, than the Acclamations of a Multitude. After three Weeks Stay at *Rosetta*, Mr. *Perez* found an Opportunity of going directly to *Marseilles*, which he eagerly embraced, promising, that on his Arrival he would write to Mr. *Fetherstone*, and acquaint him either with the Time of his returning to *Leghorn*, or of any other Measures he should find it necessary to take. He took his Leave of me with all imaginable Testimonies of the most sincere Friendship, presenting me with a very fine Ruby set with Diamonds ; in return I gave him a gold Tobacco Box, which was very curiously wrought, and which had been intended for the *Bashaw* of *Cairo*, as a Present by a *French* Merchant ; who dying suddenly, I bought it of his Nephew.

I WAS under a Necessity of remaining a Fortnight longer at this Place, during which Time, an *Armenian* Merchant, whom I had first seen at *Leghorn*, and whose Name was *Ephraim Sadi*, had well nigh persuaded me to think of going to the *Indies*. He had been there twice, and was immensely rich ; yet neither the Fatigues he had endured, the Perils he had run through, or the Wealth he had acquired, could cure him of that Itch of Travelling which so unaccountably possesses the Mind
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of a Man, and urges him to wander for the meer Sake of Wandering, and to fly that Quiet, to procure which is the sole reasonable Cause for Travel. This Signior *Ephraim* was a Man of wonderful Genius; he spoke nine Languages perfectly, among which were *English* and *Low Dutch*. He had the most extensive Idea of Traffick of any Man I ever conversed with, and a Generosity in dealing, which, wherever he came, secured him a Preference in every Thing. He was perfectly skill'd in Jewels, and in all the Trades relating to them; he understood the cutting and setting them to the utmost Nicety, and had so many Secrets for helping their Defects, and heightning their Lustre, that tho' I had been now for many Years conversant in these Things, yet I found my self, in respect to him, Mr. *Pucci's* Secret excepted, a perfect Novice. He was affable, communicative, sincere, beneficent, and the most amiable Man in the World, if he could ever have thought of staying in a Place. He was now going to *Leghorn*; he proposed travelling from thence by Land into *France*; then, after visiting *Amsterdam* and *Brussels*, he thought of going to *London*; from thence by Sea to *Portugal*; whence he was to sail to *Goa*, as soon as an Opportunity should offer: And all this he proposed to do in the Compass of three Years, being then about fifty-one, and having, as he assured me, never felt any Sickness, except now and then some wandering Pains in the Stomach and Bowels, which he cured by bathing, and anointing with warm Oils.

I COULD not forbear sometimes opposing a little his favourite Humour of Travelling, by hinting, that it took off all Love for our native Country; that it seem'd

repugnant to the Nature of Man, that it kept the Spirits in a continual Flutter, and that above all things it exposed Men to the Danger of immature and unprovided Deaths. He was always mightily pleased to have an Opportunity of displaying his Eloquence on this Subject. He laughed at the Love of one's Country, as an idle and narrow Notion. One God, said he, created us all ; we come the same Way into the World ; we have the same Business in the World, and when we go out of it we are to account before the same Judge : All Men therefore are Brethren, and the World only is every Man's Country. For my part, said he, I have seven People constantly in my Family ; my Physician, who is a *Spanish Jew* ; my Steward, a *Greek* ; my Secretary, an *Italian* ; my two Footmen, *Swiss* ; my Cook, a *Frenchman* ; and my Groom, a Native of *Lorraine*. We live all together very happily, and we account our selves all Countrymen. As to the Nature of Man, said he, there can be no Repugnancy to it in Travelling, any more than in any other Action ; besides, there is nothing more various than the Nature of Man, and therefore every Man has a Right to do what is agreeable to him, provided it be innocent to others. As to the Hurry of Spirits, it is, continued he, a Distemper of the Mind, and wherever it seizes a Man, it seizes him in some Place or other ; therefore the changing of Place, or remaining in the same Place, hath nothing to do with this, for the Mind may be kept easy and unmoved when the Body is in Motion, as well as when it is at rest ; nay, I am apt to believe, that Travelling contributes to Quiet as Motion does to Ease ; Change of Objects, soothing the Soul, as the Heat resulting from Motion, asswages Pain.

Pain. But in all these Cases the various Tempers and Constitutions of Men are chiefly to be regarded. Immature and unprovided Death, added he, we ought all to fear ; neither can we either by Travelling, or making long Voyages by Sea, escape from it ; but this being so, it is plain we may as well die in one Country as another, or to speak more like a Christian, we ought not to consider so much where or how we may die, as in what Frame of Mind Death shall find us. This depends upon ourselves ; and if we take but Care to be good Men, evil Accidents, and even a sudden Death, will not much terrify or afflict us. Human Life is a checquer'd Tablet, which retains its Mixture of black and white, whether moved or left standing.

THESE were the Arguments he used to justify his Love to Roving ; and tho' it must be acknowledg'd that they are of such a Nature as Reason is forced to dictate when the Imagination is too strong for her, yet I confess they made some Impression upon me, or, to speak the Truth, I was charmed with his Magnificence, and princely Way of Living, and suffered my Mind to swell with the vain Ambition, of imitating what I ought to have pitied. But as a waking Dream led me wrong, so a Vision of the Night set me right. It happened one Evening, after having sat late with my Friend *Ephraim*, for we lodged in the same House, when I retired to my own Apartment, I found my self little inclined to sleep, and as little inclined to read. I walked up and down for some Time without thinking, if it be possible, of any thing, till I found my self weary on the sudden, and scarce able to keep my Eyes open, when throwing off my Clothes, I got as soon as I could into Bed. I

had scarce closed my Eyes, before I fancy'd my Man *Johnson* was in the Room, and that I was conversing with him as I was wont about my Affairs; to which, methought, he made me little Answer, but seem'd rather to be uneasy that I continued this Discourse. Upon this I press'd him, with much Warmth, to speak his Sentiments, assuring him, that I had a great Defe-
 rence for his Advice, and that I would take nothing ill he should think fit to say to me. Upon this I thought he began to look more pleasant, and at length address'd me thus. I am always, Sir, exceedingly concerned when I differ from you in Opinion, and when my Affection for your Person obliges me to cross your Inclinations; however, give me Leave to say, that you have hitherto been guided a little too much by hasty Notions and Opinions, not quite so well digested as might have been expected from a Man of your Parts. Do not you remember, Sir, the Sentiments you had, and the Resolutions you fram'd in your Voyage down the *Nile*? Can you imagine, Sir, that Providence will always extricate you out of those Difficulties into which you willfully plunge your self? You left *England* because you was not safe; you left *Europe* because you had a small Fortune; you have nothing now to fear or to wish; why then would you go to the *Indies*? This *Armenian* hath no Country, and therefore he does well to look upon every one as his own; but it is not so with you; you ought to know this, and to make a right Use of it. While I fancied I was meditating on what *Johnson* had said, I awaked, but so confused and disturbed, that I much doubted whether I retained my Senses. I got up, address'd my self to those Means which never fail
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to calm the Spirits of Men who trust in God, and by Morning compos'd my self to a settled Resolution of returning, if it was practicable, into *England*, and there leading a quiet and retired Life.

A Few Days after this, I received a Packet from the *Venetian* Consul, acquainting me, that a Vessel would shortly arrive at *Rosetta* from the *Arches*, and that upon his Letter to the Captain, which was inclosed, I might find a safe and commodious Passage to *Leghorn*. This accordingly took effect, the Vessel arriv'd the same Week, and sail'd a few Days after, having no Passengers on board except Signior *Ephraim*, his Family, and my self. There happen'd nothing singular in our Passage, except the Illness of the *Jew* Physician, who was so extremely disorder'd with Sea-Sickness, that if we had not made the Port as we did, he would in all Likelihood have died. I assist'd him the best I could; but inasmuch as he would take no Broths of our making, I knew not what to do with him till I thought of Chicken-broth, some of which, on seeing the *French* Cook cut off the Head of the Creature, and drain it thoroughly of its Blood, he, with some Difficulty, consented to take which kept up his Spirits, and sav'd his Life. He was a very honest Man, but most inordinately superstitious, having with the *Jewish* Obstinacy all the Punctilio of a *Spaniard*. Signior *Ephraim* depended much upon him in all Things, and with Reason, for he was certainly a Man of Skill in his Profession, and of great Probity, for which the *Spanish* Jews, perhaps, as *Spaniards*, are eminently distinguished.

ON my Arrival at *Leghorn*, Mr. *Fetherstone* hardly knew me, on Account of my having lost much Flesh,

and my Complexion altogether. *Johnson* was gone to *Florence* to sell a large Cabinet of Medals, which I afterwards understood was bought by a *French* Gentleman for the Chancellor of *France*. I would not suffer Mr. *Fetherstone* to write to him of my Arrival, that I might have the Pleasure of surprising him at his Return to *Leghorn*. In this I certainly acted very foolishly; for tho' Mr. *Fetherstone* was some time before he knew me, yet *Johnson* discover'd me at first Sight, and was so much amazed at this unexpected Interview, that he swoon'd, and was with Difficulty recovered. Thus, for the Gratification of an idle Humour, the meanest Pleasure in the World, I put the Life of one of the honestest Men in it to the Hazard, an Act for which I cannot easily forgive my self.

It was not long after my Return to *Leghorn*, before, in a Conversation with Signior *Ephraim*, the Price of Jewels at that Time happen'd to become the Subject of Discourse, he thereupon ask'd me whether I had ever seen any that were truly excellent, and of a very large Size; adding, that he had lately sent into *France* some of the best colour'd Stones that ever were brought into *Europe*; of which, at my Request, he shew'd me the Models. Among these were some Sapphires, blue, and white, of a very extraordinary Size, and according to his Description, of uncommon Beauty; but as for the Emeralds he sent, I judg'd them to be far inferior to mine; and so I told him. Upon this he desired to see them. I shew'd him seven, reserving the four largest I had for another Time. He said very ingenuously, they were the finest he had ever seen, that is, they had the fewest Imperfections, most or all of which might be taken

taken away by their being judiciously set. To cut the Matter short, he told me that he had at that time such a Commission as would enable him to give more for these Stones than I could reasonably expect, or than I could possibly get for them, especially if I sold them all together. He then named a Price, which he affirmed was the utmost he would give, and indeed it was such a one as in Prudence I could not refuse; so the Bargain was presently concluded, and I had the Pleasure of seeing this Point of a settled Fortune, which I had been so long pursuing, compleated in a few Hours. After this Signior *Ephraim* spoke to me of Diamonds, and of Rubies, but I told him that I had none worth shewing him, but that I had an Authority to dispose of some that were excellent at *Venice*, if a Person who had bid Money for them did not come up to the Price, which by the next Post I should set upon them. He smiled, and asked me if the Jewels were not in the Hands of such a Person, and if such a Man had not offered Money for them. I was amazed at this, supposing that the *Venetian* Consul at *Cairo* had spoke to him upon this Subject, but I was mistaken, the Person at *Venice* was Signior *Ephraim's* Agent; he told me so frankly, and offered to send a Person who should pay the Money at *Venice*, provided I sent an Order for the delivering the Jewels. I accordingly consented, and Mr. *Johnson*, notwithstanding the Fatigue he had lately undergone, readily agreed to go with Signior *Redi*, the *Armenian's* Secretary, in order to put an End to this Business which was of very great Concern.

I was afterwards informed, that Signior *Ephraim* collected all these Jewels for a *French* Merchant who had

been in the *Indies*, and having sold all the Stones he brought from thence, took this Method of recruiting, and by dint of his Character, got a large Profit for himself, tho' he gave very high Prices, yet he would deal in nothing that was not perfect in its kind. All this was nothing to me, the quick Negotiation of such important Affairs effectually satisfying all my Desires, and making me richer than I thought I had any Title to be; so that I sometimes doubted how I came by such Sums of Money, and was amazed at the Kindness of Providence, knowing that I had not deserved such Things; perhaps they were given me that I might deserve them. While Mr. *Johnson* was gone to *Paris*, Mr. *Fetherstone* and I employed our Time in settling a general Account, Mr. *Perez* having written him a Letter some time before my coming to *Leghorn*, desiring it might be done as speedily as possible, and such a Valuation made of the Effects remaining, as Mr. *Fetherstone* and I should agree upon and this being done, he desired the Account might be transmitted to Mr. *Abraham Lopez*, a Merchant at *Marseilles*. Upon adjusting all Matters, it appear'd that there was a Balance due to him of three thousand Pistoles, half of which Sum we remitted with the Account, and offered him the Remainder when he should be pleased to draw for it; but instead of doing this, Mr. *Perez* wrote us a most obliging Letter, wherein, after desiring me to take out of the Effects whatever Curiosities I might esteem, he gave all the rest to Mr. *Fetherstone*, concluding his Letter with these Words. *God hath now restored to me so ample an Estate, that not to make my faithful Friends participate with me, would be an Ingratitude capable of drawing upon me another Reverse of Fortune.*

AFTER

AFTER this we heard no more of Mr. *Perez*, and we had Reason to believe he did not long survive his good Fortune, a Friend of his at *Genoa* having received a Letter by the same Post that we did, without ever having a second, and we both writ in vain to *Marseilles* several Times. I neglected nothing during the Absence of Mr. *Johnson* that might contribute to the drawing my Affairs within a very narrow Compass. As for Mr. *Fetherstone* his Affairs were now very easy, and he seemed to wish as I did for an Opportunity of returning to *England*. However we both referr'd all Thoughts of these Matters, till we shou'd have disposed of all the Curiosities we had by us, and amongst those there were upwards of 700 Medals of Gold, Silver, &c. We disposed them in several Cabinets, together with Gems, Bas-reliefs, and other Antiquities, with Descriptions in *French* and *Italian*, in preparing of which we had the Assistance of the Virtuosi. Thus employ'd, and all along with a View of returning to *England*, it fell out that one Morning after I had been awake and reflected on several Things, I fell fast asleep, and dreamt exactly the same Dream I had at *Venice*, that is to say, I saw myself in a large Meadow bounded by a River on the other Side, of which I saw *Lucia* walking, but whereas before I was at a vast Distance from the Bridge, I saw myself now very near it, and *Lucia* on her Side seem'd advancing to me. When I awaked and considered this, I rose with as much Alacrity and Satisfaction as if some great good Luck had befallen me, and I had all that Day such an unusual flow of Spirits, that every Body took Notice of it. How frail a Thing is Man? a Dream alters his Conduct, and at the Distance of thirty Years, he has a secret Pleasure in owning his Folly.

ON

ON the Return of *Johnson* to *Leghorn*, after the first Ceremonies were over, and Mr. *Fetherstone* was withdrawn, he gave me an Account of the Success of his Journey, the Delivery of the Jewels, and presented me with a Letter from the *Venetian* Consul, which contained a short Compliment, and a Draught on a Merchant at *Leghorn*, for the Value of 300 *Sequins*, as a Compensation for the Trouble and Expence I had been at in negotiating this Affair, which I gave Mr. *Johnson* as a Gratification for many fatiguing Journies he had taken in my Service, tho' his Modesty was so great, that it was with some Difficulty I prevailed upon him to accept it. These Things adjusted, I was upon the Point of calling Mr. *Fetherstone*, when *Johnson* stopt me, stay Sir, said he, I have Business now of another Nature with you. I call'd on Mr. *Hales* to know whether he had had any farther Account of your Affairs, there with some Difficulty this Letter was found, which had been transmitted to *Geneva*, and returned from thence; so that to be sure it is of an old Date, I had several Times a Mind to open it, but having considered better of it I desisted. This Letter was from *Lucia*, it contained an Account of her Brother's carrying her into *England* a kind of Prisoner, under Pretence of her eloping from her Husband. On her coming to *London*, he would not suffer her to stir abroad, but on Condition of marrying the Gentleman lately returned from the *Indies*, which she absolutely refused, upon which he hurried her down into *Leicestershire*, to an Aunt of this Gentleman's, where she was not less strictly guarded, till at last she took a bold Resolution of Writing to a Justice of Peace a little before the Assizes, and enclosing a Letter to

to the Judge, which throwing out of her Window into the *London* Road was taken up, and delivered as directed. Upon this she was immediately set at Liberty, and retiring to her Father's House in *Lincolnshire*, found him still living, but so childish, that he hardly knew her. Her Brother-in-Law and Sister not a little incensed against her by the Arts of her Brother, which afflicted her so much, that she resolved to come to *London* and live privately there. These Transactions took up seven Months, and the Letter being transmitted to *Venice*, was sent from thence to *Geneva*, where my Landlord being dead, it was according to a Direction sent with it returned to *Venice*, where it lay till it fell thus into my Hands.

I instantly wrote an Answer according to a Direction at the Foot of this Letter, beseeching *Lucia* to afford me a farther Account of her Affairs as soon as possible. In the mean Time I redoubled my Preparations for returning into *England* at all Events, tho' by the Way, this was a very mad Proceeding, considering that I stood out-lawed, and the *English* Court did not shew any great Inclination to treat Persons in my Condition with Lenity. However Mr. *Fetherstone* and *Johnson* having as strong a Passion as I for seeing once again their native Land, did not oppose me therein, relying upon my Prudence in taking Care of my own Safety. When the Time was elapsed, in which I might reasonably have expected a Return from *London*, I grew very impatient, and at length melancholy. A thousand Inventions occur'd for gaining Intelligence from *England*, and were thrown aside again as impracticable.

At length a Letter from *Lucia* arrived, which deliver'd me from this Perplexity that had wasted my Spirits more than

than all the fatiguing Journies I had taken, and all the Difficulties I had run through. This Letter informed me, that her Father being dead, she was gone down to *Leicestershire* to settle her Affairs when my Letter came, and that it had been kept for her till her Return; that her Circumstances were now very easy, tho' the barbarous unkindness of her Relations had for two Years and a half, made her suffer the greatest Difficulties; that she had some Interest with the *Temple Family*, with *Sir Leoline Jenkins*, Secretary of State, and the Lord *Daventry*, lately created Lord High Chancellor, so that she made no Question of procuring my Outlawry to be reversed, if I was really determined to come to *England*. I mentioned something of this to Mr. *Fetherstone*, but he immediately suggested another Method, which was addressing myself to the Duke of *Bucks*, tho' he was at that Time on bad Terms with the Court; but he advised that the other Interest also should be kept and made Use of. His Reasons were these, he said, that the discontented Party in *England* were very numerous and powerful, and that if I applied myself to the Ministry, they would not fail to cause such Representations to be made, as might possibly prevent the Outlawry from being reversed; but that if I applied to the others, they would recommend the Thing to the Duke of *Monmouth*; upon which it would in all Probability be referred to the Lawyers, and then my Interest with the *Chancellor* and the *Secretary*, would stand me in great stead. But above all he pressed me to get as strong Recommendations as I cou'd to Sir *William Temple*, who was then in *Holland*, for as he was a Gentleman agreeable to both Parties, and had at that Time a very great

great Interest, there was Reason to believe his espousing my Cause would effectually secure it Success. To this I answered, that I had no manner of Interest with the Duke of *Buckingham*, that except what I learned from him, I scarce knew any Thing of the State of my own Country, but that however I was very anxious to see it again. You do not at present, Sir, said Mr. *Fetherstone*, want Money, and he that hath that, hath an Interest, or the Means of creating an Interest in all Courts, and in that of *England* particularly. I told him, that having been never over fond of Money, I shou'd not be unreasonably tenacious of it at this Time. He smil'd, and made me Answer, he wou'd make it his Business to consider how it might be employ'd for my Advantage. In a Day or two *Johnson*, he, and I, being together, I asked him whether he had considered as he promised me of a Method for facilitating what we all so much wish'd, a safe and speedy Return into our own Country. Mr. *Fetherstone* answered he had, and that he wou'd be accountable for its Success. *Johnson* seemed to be no less pleased at this than I, for as he told me, he was not a little diffident on this Head, tho' he said nothing for Fear of discouraging me. We then desired Mr. *Fetherstone* to explain himself upon this Point. There wants, said he, but very little Explanation. You know Sir, continued he, addressing himself to me, how I procured the Favour of his Grace of *Buckingham* once before; we are now better provided, I will carry over a Cargo of Curiosities, some Jewels, and a little Money, and in a Month or two be assured that you may follow me, provided you furnish me with Instructions how to cultivate that Interest which you say you have yourself at
that

that Court. All this appeared as feasible to us as it did to him, and therefore that no Time might be lost in the Execution of our Project, I wrote that very Night to *Lucia*, to acquaint her therewith, and we resolved that Mr. *Fetherstone* shou'd depart the very Moment we received her Answer. But our Measures received an unexpected Change in a few Days, by Means of a Letter that I received from *Lucia*; she advised me, that two Persons in the same Circumstances with myself, had been pardoned at the Intercession of the Duke of *Monmouth*, and that as she was related to Mr. *Draycot*, who was his Grace's Gentleman of the Horse, she look'd upon it as a Thing certain, that if I thought it proper, she cou'd secure an Interest there. Upon maturely deliberating this Proposition, *Johnson* offered it as his Opinion, that Mr. *Fetherstone* shou'd without more ado, embark on Board a Ship ready to sail for *England*, in order to co-operate with this Lady in so important an Affair. Mr. *Fetherstone* readily came into this Motion, and the third Day after sail'd for *England*, of which I also advertised *Lucia* by Letter. It must be owned, that tho' Mr. *Fetherstone's* Care and Diligence conducted this Matter to a happy issue, yet our Measures were very precipitate, in as much as they exposed Mr. *Fetherstone* to some Hazard, and drove this Business very hard, which rather shou'd have been conducted with leisure. However as it was attended with no Loss but that of Money, I had no Occasion to repine, neither did I, but I cou'd not help seeing that I had acted wrong, and therefore I note it, for tho' *Luck* may cure *Blunders*, yet it ought never to hide them.

DURING

DURING Mr. *Fetherstone's* Absence I had Recourse to my old Method of diverting myself by digesting my Papers, and by putting into Writing such Observations as occurred to me on several Subjects. I likewise made a choice Collection of *Italian* Books, and of such *Greek* and *Latin* Authors as had been printed at *Rome* and at *Venice*. I likewise consulted the *Virtuosi* on some of the many Oriental Manuscripts I had brought over, and by these Arts of withdrawing from myself passed my Days with tolerable Ease, which otherwise I believe I shou'd not have done. One Morning when I was hard at my Studies I was informed that a strange Gentleman desired to speak with me; they call'd him strange, because they saw he was just arrived. He proved to be a *French* Jeweller, sent on purpose to know if I had or cou'd procure one Emerald more of the Size of them I had sold to Seignior *Ephraim*. I told the Gentleman I could not, at which he seemed very much concerned, adding, that if I cou'd, he wou'd have given a great Price for it. I told him I had an Emerald by me which was larger than any of those. Ay, Sir said he, but then it must be foul, I told him it was not, and upon my producing it, he was so amazed, that he cou'd hardly speak. He was himself a very good Judge of Stones, yet we had some Difficulty in settling the Point whether it was or was not an Emerald, in respect to which he insisted on his shewing it to the Jeweller of the Grand Duke, to which I wou'd by no means consent; however I told him, if he wou'd buy it, he might then shew it to whom he wou'd, and that he shou'd depofite the Money in a Person's Hands whom I wou'd name, who shou'd restore it to him if he was not contented in three Days

Days Time. To this he wou'd have assented, but he had not the Money ready, not expecting to be asked above half the Sum I insisted upon for this Stone. This Difficulty I presently removed, for I consented to take a third Part of the Money down, and two Parts in Bills, which being deposited in the Hands of an *English* Merchant I named, the Stone shou'd be produced to the Jeweller of the Grand Duke. In three Days the whole Affair was adjusted to every Bodies Satisfaction, the Grand Duke's Jeweller offering a hundred Crowns to my Chapman to quit his Bargain, which he refused to do, and so I received the third Part in Money, and Bills for the other two thirds immediately. Another Piece of unexpected good Fortune, for which I stood accountable to Providence.

BEFORE I received any News from Mr. *Fetherstone* I had another Letter from *Lucia*, purporting that my worthy Cousins having Notice of some Applications made for reversing my Outlawry, were come up to Town in order to sollicite against it, to prevent my filing a Bill for the Principal and Interest of the Mortgage on my Uncle's Estate. The Passion of going Home was so strong upon me, that I immediately executed a general Release before a Notary Publick, and transmitted it to *London*, where Mr. *Fetherstone* delivered it to my Cousins, who upon this became my very good Friends, and joined heartily in doing me all the Service they cou'd, the rather I suppose, because they apprehended that I was returning Home very rich. However when all came to all, and much Time and Money had been spent in procuring a Warrant for the Reverse of my Outlawry, it appeared that I had never been
Out-

outlawed at all. My Name was in a List for that Purpose, and part of that List were outlawed, and the Remainder were ordered to be outlawed at the next County Court, but by the Death of the Sheriff, and the removing the Under Sheriff this Order slept, and there was no Record of the Outlawry, and consequently no possibility of reversing it. On this Head I had nobody to blame but myself; I had been advised of the Outlawry by my Uncle, I acquainted Mr. *Fetherstone* with it, and my Cousins assured him, that the Thing was so. When it came out, as it did, the younger of my Cousins asked Mr. *Fetherstone* what he intended to do. I intend answered he, to write to him to come Home. Not so, said my Cousin, he hath been very generous to us, and we will be just to him; these Courtiers have had his Money, why should he not have a general Pardon? This was well put in, for otherwise I had assuredly come Home, and when the *Swearing Harvest* came on, I had certainly stood a Chance of being put into a *Popish* or a *Protestant* Plot, if not both. In consequence then of this just Observation a Warrant for a Pardon was obtained, of which I had Advice given me, it being supposed that I might with Security enough now return Home.

I received this Letter in the Month of *March*, and resolved immediately to embark for *England*. On this Occasion *Johnson* interposed, he said he apprehended it wou'd be better if I did not go to *England* till the Pardon was actually sealed, that it was not impossible but new Difficulties might be started, and that it would be very difficult to get over any of them if I was in *England* at the Time. I was however not to be moved,

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which

which when *Johnson* saw, he made another Proposition, it was this, that he should embark with my Effects on Board a Vessel then in the Port, and that I should go by Land to *Paris*. This was so reasonable that I could not but approve it. Accordingly three Days after *Johnson* had embarked I set out for *France*, and travelling very leisurely, arrived at *Paris* the 21st of *April*.

I wrote that very Night to *London*, and by the Return of the Post was acquainted of *Johnson's* safe Arrival with my Effects, and that my Pardon was sealed but the Day before; so that *Johnson's* Foresight came in Time, and I reaped that Benefit, for which few Men are thankful, the Blessing of having a Servant wiser than myself. All Obstacles being now removed, I set out from *Paris* with the Secretary of M. *Courtin* the *French* Ambassador for *Calais*, and the Day after we arrived there, crossed to *Dover* by Noon, and the next Day being *May* the 9th 1676 arrived in *London*, where I found all my Friends at Mr. *Fetherstone's* Lodgings in *Aldermanbury*, having been sixteen Years out of the Kingdom, and returning now almost as great a Stranger to it as if I had not been born therein.

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